

Are Government Workers Free to Do as They Choose?

ALL HONORABLE MEN, by David Karp (Knopf; \$3.95) is worth reading because it offers a somewhat different slant on the perennial quarrel between liberalism and conservatism. It is focused on the issue of whether persons like Government workers and teachers are free to think, speak and make friends as they choose.

This novel also is commendable because it is adroitly planned and filled with suspense. Mr. Karp, author of "One," a terrifying picture of a future totalitarian state, is a skillful writer.

Despite these praiseworthy qualities, however, the novel, like so many that uphold the liberal position against both communism and reaction, is not plausible. Most of its characters are stuffed examples of one shape of opinion or another.

The story concerns a Dr. Burney, a famous anti-Communist liberal, who has directed a great foundation. He is offered the executive direction of a new organization, the Institute of American Studies, which is designed, so he is told, to uphold the conservative position on a high intellectual level. He accepts, only to find that the sponsors are a bunch of educated, anti-

septic Ku Kluxers or Silver Shirts.

Dr. Burney comes to grief over an investigation of the qualifications of a Dr. Ness, an economist, proposed for the faculty—a former Government official whose associations takes on a red tinge. Ness, a timid, naive liberal, who is not a Communist has always meant well.

Although the Institute is a private enterprise, the case takes on all the aura of a congressional investigation. Dr. Ness' daughter turns out to be a Communist. When the papers get hold of the issue, the applicant's future career is in the balance. What happens to him is one of several alternatives which might be guessed.

For one thing, a man of Burney's reputation and background never would have joined such an outfit without knowing more about its backers, his employers. For another, the Institute, a private corporation, could not have wielded the influence attributed to it. Then, too, the characters talk more like editorials stating the liberal or conservative view than human beings. You also get the impression that all conservatives are bigots, without reasonable or rational minds.

In spite of these flaws, "All Honorable Men" is an absorbing story.

ENCLOSURE

94-4-5592-4
62-46855-3X1

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AMB*

DATE: January 28, 1959

9/31 FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEWS
CONTROL BY PUBLICATIONS DESK
CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION
(New)

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Nease	_____
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Holloman	_____
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talked with SA Frank W. Waikart, Records and Communications Division, January 27, 1959, concerning the possibility of opening a main file on the subject "Book Reviews."

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b7CRECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That this memorandum be referred to SA Waikart for instituting the opening of main file on "Book Reviews" then to be placed in such newly opened file.

REC- 60

2. That Central Research Section be advised of the file number.

20 JAN 30 1959

9/15 AMB:nji

(5)

1 - Mr. Belmont *2/3*

1 - Mr. Waikart, Room 7204

1 - Section tickler

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57 FEB 5 1959

CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NEASE

DATE: January 15, 1959

FROM : M. A. JONES

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW
"ACQUITTED OF MURDER"
BY WILLIAM SEAGLE

U.S.

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Holloman _____
Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:

Director sent brief review of above book clipped from Sunday Star, 1/11/59, and said: "It might be well for us to review this book. H." Memo to you of 1/12/59, advised book had been purchased and was being reviewed in Crime Records Section.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Director is mentioned at the bottom of page 251 and top of page 252 when the author says: The police and prosecuting officials of the national capital have not suffered in silence when the courts have struck particularly mortal blows at criminal law enforcement. "From J. Edgar Hoover to Assistant United States attorneys who have been deprived of their sleep, they have been vocal enough. Perhaps the most outspoken of all have been Police Chief Robert V. Murray and United States Attorney Oliver Gasch."

On page 251 the author states the Mallory case has probably created the most convenient loophole of all time for hard-pressed criminals. He then refers to a survey in the Washington Star on 1/12/58 which allegedly reported that the police and prosecutors were in a race with the clock, since the slightest delay in arraignment might ruin a case against a suspect. "Assistant United States Attorneys were being frequently awakened in the middle of the night by the metropolitan police or by FBI Agents, when they had a prisoner who had confessed at night, were not sure whether they should wait until the following morning before arraigning him."

In his introduction author says the fear of convicting the innocent has had an overwhelming influence in shaping every system of criminal justice which attaches importance to protection of the individual; that popular sentiment has been that it is better for ten guilty persons to escape than for one innocent person to suffer. "It must be admitted that the ten-to-one school has never been lacking in horrible examples of miscarriages of justice to support its point of view. On page 5 the author states that one of the most awful examples of the ten-to-one school was

BMS:bsb
(7)cc - Book Review File, Room 4237 (2 copies)
cc - Miss Gandy

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the case of Albert Anastasia, "Lord High Executioner" of Murder, Inc. He was allegedly tried for murder in 1921, convicted, sentenced to die and the New York Court of Appeals awarded him a new trial on a technicality and when the state was ready to try him again it was found that all key witnesses had been murdered. "Police debited Anastasia with personally killing thirty-one men and with ordering the execution of another thirty-two." (Page 5) "In American courts, the procedural dice have always been loaded in favor of the person accused of crime. The administration of the criminal law has deliberately been made inefficient, a subject on which I have dwelt at length in my book, Law: The Science of Inefficiency. A person accused of crime at once becomes the darling of the law and enjoys all the advantages which it can possibly bestow on him." (Page 6)

On page 9 the author states: "Apart from the courts themselves the whole machinery of criminal justice is designed to facilitate the escape of persons accused of crime. To be sure, the resources which modern science has made available to the police in the detection of crime are formidable, but they have been negated to a great extent by the greater procedural resources of the defense, and the lack of organization in the machinery of prosecution."

Author takes a slap at district attorneys elected to office who are more interested in getting a conviction than making it stick and says the misconduct of district attorneys is one of the most frequent of the causes for reversing criminal convictions. (Page 10) Author says on page 11 he has selected case histories to prove his allegations against the American courts favoring criminals accused and convicted of crimes rather than theoretical discussion. "All cases selected have involved murders, and the murderers, although found guilty by juries, escaped all punishment except for relatively brief periods of incarceration which they had to endure while their fates were being decided." (Page 11) He then cites in great detail seven cases covering 180 pages between the years 1806 and 1931 which are of no value to this memo.

In his last chapter titled "Post-Mortem" he cites statistics on reversals in murder cases in California from 1850 - 1926; Texas from 1900 - 1927 and 1924 - 1944 the latter showing 37 percent reversals out of 1438 appeals in murder cases. (Page 196) He goes into the Illinois Crime Survey of 1929 and the Missouri Crime Survey of 1926 to show the high percentage of reversals in murder cases. The author says the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri achieved undoubted leadership in quashing defective murder and rape cases towards the turn of the century when they found indictments to be fatally defective because of typographical and misspelled words and allowed a rapist to go free because the word "the" had been ommitted in the phrase "against the peace and dignity of the state." (Page 199)

He discusses the continually increasing number of reversals based on unlawful arrests, unlawful searches and seizures, confession, delay in arraignments, wiretapping, etc. (Page 203-204) He criticizes the U. S. Supreme Court on pages 206 and 207 for the judge-made doctrines which have facilitated the escape of the guilty and not supported by the Constitution. He ridicules the Court's interpretation of wire-tapping laws as "the fruit of the poisonous tree." (Page 208-209) He discusses the Mallory case, page 212, and shows its far reaching and devastating effect upon law enforcement.

Author says the penitentiaries have become veritable habeas corpus mills as a result of Supreme Court pronouncements on constitutional rights; that the leading law school is no longer Harvard but Joliet Prison and Alcatraz. He says 3000 legal documents a years are sent forth from Alcatraz; that 400 inmates have typewriters; and prisoners are allowed to keep a maximum of eight books in their cells. (Page 220) Author cites case of "Treetop" Turner, a tall Negro who confessed to killing 2 men in a robbery. He was tried and convicted of murder 5 separate times and each time the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania reversed the trial court over a period of 12 years 1945-1957 at which time Turner's case was nolle-prosed and today he is a free man. (Page 222-229)

Author blasts District of Columbia as the Number One haven for criminals in the U. S. He blasts the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals for the reversible decisions they have made in favor of criminals admittedly guilty, but merely because of a technicality of no real bearing on the guilt or innocence of the accused. (Page 233-256)

Author cites interesting statistics on criminals freed because of insanity at time of crime, page 240; mentions celebrated Monte Durham case as well as the Dallas Williams case known in Washington as "The Bad Man of Swampoodle." He said Williams record showed 100 arrests, 11 convictions for crimes of violence and after he shot a man in both legs he was tried 5 times but they failed to convict him and in 1957 he was let loose upon the community once more. (Page 242)

Author says most celebrated case of application of the new constitutional doctrines is the case of Judith Coplon, arrested by the FBI. After her trial and conviction the U. S. Court of Appeals declared "her guilt is plain," but they reversed her conviction because she had been unlawfully arrested without a warrant and her wires were tapped. She was again tried and convicted and the higher court again reversed it and she walked out of court a free woman. (Page 243-244)

Author says Mallory decision is the greatest obstacle to successful police work in the District in cases of murder, rape and robbery. (Page 245)

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1 - Section tickler
1 - J. E. Johnson
1 - J. A. Jackson
2 - orig & copy
1 - Yellow file copy

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February 4, 1959

Airtel

To: SAC, New York

From: Director, FBI (62-46855)

BOOK REVIEWS, CONTROL BY PUBLICATIONS DESK, CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

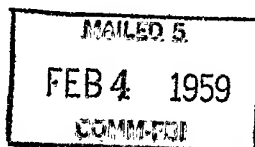
Discreetly obtain one copy "Seven Shares in a Gold Mine," by Margaret Larkin; Simon and Schuster: \$2.95. Forward to Central Research by return mail.

*1 copy of book received 2/6/59
Received by SA J.E. McHale, Jr. C.R.S.
Book placed in Bureau Library
2/13/59*

NOTE:

Book being obtained at request of SA J. A. Jackson; author subject of Security Index. Book scheduled for release 2/4/59. *Be*

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EX-101

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FEB 10 1959

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Amst

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nease

DATE: January 26, 1959

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: HERBLOCK'S SPECIAL FOR TODAY,
BOOK BY HERBERT BLOCK

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The above-captioned book, written by the well-known cartoonist for the "Washington Post and Times-Herald," contains some 430 cartoons by Herblock as well as some 30,000 words of explanatory text. The book deals with virtually all phases of public life, with cartoons and text on such items as secrecy of Government files, foreign policy, politics, civil rights, Government operations, etc. u

Herblock attacks Congressional investigative committees, such as the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities. (HCUA) He also is critical of the FBI. His comments are a rehash of well-known canards about the Bureau, such as that the Bureau is not as closely scrutinized by Congress as other agencies; that it relies on confidential informants; that the Director has harsh ideas regarding the handling of juveniles; that the Bureau joined with the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities in attacking Cyrus Eaton, etc. u

These key points are made by Herblock: u

(1) The FBI has not been given the same careful scrutiny as other agencies in the Government. u

Herblock mentions that in a column written in July, 1957, Drew Pearson cited some examples of cases in which he said the FBI and the Director received more credit than they deserved, adding that no newspaperman, including himself, had published the complete truth in these cases. (This undoubtedly refers to a Pearson column published on July 10, 1957, in which Pearson erroneously claimed that the Bureau hogged the credit in the Nazi Saboteur, Elizabeth Bentley, Greenlease and Brinks cases). (94-8-350-881) u

EX-102 REG-33

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Herblock then adds: "Certainly this bureau has not been given the same careful scrutiny as others in government. And J. Edgar Hoover, particularly when he is delivering pronouncements on debatable subjects,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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Jones to Nease Memo
January 26, 1959

could benefit from the kind of critical appraisal that is given such other public servants as, say, the President of the United States or the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court." u

(2) The Director is a good policeman, but when he leaves that role he is unreliable. u

The author says the Director strongly defended the Government's security program and "implied that anyone who criticized this program or disapproved of complete reliance on anonymous informers must be either a Communist or Communist dupe." u

Herblock then says: "Mr. Hoover has performed some good work in his capacity as a policeman; but when he tried to get away with that kind of talk he got himself caught, as you might say, flat-footed. Happily, there were at least a few newspapers which said so, in editorials that did not support him in the manner to which he had become accustomed. This was a healthy reaction from members of a free press who should not have any sacred cows - or sacred bulls." u

(3) The Director advocates harsh treatment of juvenile offenders. u

It is mentioned that the Director issued a statement in 1958 demanding tougher methods for handling juvenile delinquents and attacking a "distorted notion of justice" which, according to the Director, had "even permeated our court system." (Introduction to FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, April, 1958). Herblock then states that Monsignor John O'Grady, secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, criticized the Director's position, asserting that Mr. Hoover had contributed to police work but this did not entitle him to the position of an oracle in dealing with juvenile delinquency. (File 94-37133 reflects that O'Grady in a letter to the editor of the Washington Star on April 9, 1958 did make such a statement). u

(4) The Director likewise is "not exactly our greatest authority on constitutional law, on what can properly be shown on movies and TV, on how to cope with Communism, or on a number of other subjects on which he has spoken in oracular fashion." u

Jones to Nease Memo
January 26, 1959

Herblock speaks of Cyrus Eaton, saying that Mr. Hoover and the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities in the spring of 1958 "joined in doing some televising-with-alarm." He characterizes Eaton as "a plain-spoken and unintimidated man" who at the age of 75 "was in no mood to learn any/other kind of Americanism." After Eaton's interview on the Mike Wallace show, the Director declined equal time, but the House Committee, "which had not even been mentioned in the broadcast," demanded and received broadcast time. u

Mention is then made that the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities threatened to serve Eaton with a subpoena. "Both the committee and Mr. Hoover explained that they had nothing against free speech, mind you. The committee only wanted to make inquiries, and Mr. Hoover merely deplored 'inaccuracies in the exercise of free speech.'" (Director's quotation taken from introduction of Law Enforcement Bulletin, July, 1958). However, public reaction was adverse, and the HCUA dropped the entire matter. u

Herblock then goes on to quote from the Director's speech before the American Legion (September, 1957), in which Mr. Hoover criticized "certain organizations" which thwart the concepts of security, claim to be anti-communist but actually launch attacks against Congressional legislation designed to curb communism. Such comments of the Director, Herblock says, betray Mr. Hoover's "imprecise speech exercises," in that he doesn't identify these "organizations." However, according to Herblock, the Director let the "cat out of the bag" a few sentences later when he talks about "The recent campaign to throw open the files of the FBI is a case in point." u

Herblock states: "At this point - or at this case in point - the cat was out of the bag on all four pussy feet, and we discovered the kind of dangerous subversives who were the objects of Mr. Hoover's creeping McCarthyism. First and foremost on anybody's list of 'organizations' which would 'throw open the files of the FBI,' as Mr. Hoover misrepresented the matter, would have to be that familiar group of desperadoes, the Supreme Court of the United States. And Mr. Hoover's tirade was brought on by their 7-1 decision which upheld the rights of people being prosecuted to see government material necessary for their defense - as, for example, the various conflicting statements of an informant like Harvey Matusow." u

Jones to Nease Memo
January 26, 1959

These comments then follow on the Director and the Supreme Court: "As one who believes that all government actions are subject to questioning and comment, I don't hold that federal court decisions are always right or above criticism. There are some I'd quarrel with. But in a choice, I'd certainly take the considered deliberations of the Supreme Court in preference to the statements of a policeman so carried away by his own power and his own press releases that he has taken to impugning the integrity and patriotism of all who disagree with him." u

Herblock makes this biting sarcasm:

"A more forthright crack at the Court appeared in a mid-1958 report of testimony by Mr. Hoover before a Congressional committee. He said, 'The Supreme Court must come to grips in a realistic manner with facts and join all the forces for good in protecting society.' (Page 174 of Director's Testimony before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, January 16, 1958, reflects that Mr. Hoover actually said: "But the courts themselves must also eventually come to grips in a realistic manner with facts and join all forces for good in protecting society.") u

"This was pretty big of our most publicized bureau chief. He might have said simply that the U. S. Supreme Court must go. But he was forbearing, though firm. He allowed the members of the nation's highest tribunal a chance to give themselves up and to 'join all the forces for good.' u

"Who knows to what heights men like Earl Warren and Hugo Black might have risen had they but obeyed and grasped the opportunity for redemption? They might have traded in their black robes for white hats, to show they were forces-for-good guys instead of forces-for-bad guys. They might even have become Junior G-men. But they remained steeped in their iniquities, steeped in the law, steeped in the old idea that the rights of American citizens are even more important than the barkings of cops and committees. u

Jones to Nease Memo
January 26, 1959

"Actually, the law that has been operating against the Eastlands, the Jenners, the Walters and the Hoovers is one which has never been passed upon by the Supreme Court, and which appears not in legal books but in economic ones. That is the law of diminishing returns." u

(5) Building up a myth of communist strength inside the United States. u

Herblock severely criticizes the FBI for trying to create a myth of communist strength inside the United States, when actually there is none - a "basic law" that "the fewer the Communists and the less their influence, the more imminent the danger from them." u

These are Herblock's final comments:

"With all their combined efforts, they have not been able to keep the country's fears of internal 'subversion' whipped up to the fever pitch of the McCarthy era. The Russian gains on world scientific, economic and political fronts have brought a sobering realization of the real dangers which confront us. And the Suspect-Thy-Neighbor groups have been up against the additional handicap that the strength of the Communists in the U. S., which was never large at any time, has dwindled to near zero. u

"In their efforts to overcome the law of diminishing returns, Mr. Walter and Mr. Hoover have tried to proclaim a kind of basic law of their own invention - that the fewer the Communists and the less their influence, the more imminent the danger from them. u

"If it were a fact that our internal peril is now as great as ever, that would hardly seem much of a testimonial to these men, who have supposedly been eliminating the dire threat that we're all going to turn red some morning. But in the face of clear and present dangers to their personal prestige, they could hardly be expected to worry about little matters of logic. u

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"The business of hunting Americans guilty of no crimes and of finding 'subversion' in such things as free speech and freedom of assembly is not yet played out. But the chases aren't what they used to be. u

"The pursuers are still willing, but the audience is getting tired. And, worst of all, the pursued aren't all co-operating in quite the old way. It takes at least two to make a chase. Somebody has to run away, or maybe drop dead when you point at him. But people aren't dropping the way they used to - or falling for all the old charges. As for running, the Supreme Court just sits there, handing down judicial opinions. People like Cyrus Eaton sit there handing out personal opinions; and instead of fleeing when a pursuer comes roaring up, they just stand and spit in his eye. u


"Perhaps Mr. Hoover has detected something in the air. Lately I've been reading lots of newspaper stories about an FBI list of Ten Most Wanted Men. This sounds like an echo of the old Public Enemy days when Mr. Hoover built his reputation by catching criminals, and by upholding the laws instead of trying to dictate them. u

"Jenner has bowed out. And if the business of pursuing law-abiding citizens keeps dropping off, I don't know what people like Eastland and Walter are going to do for action. Some time when they come up for new appropriations, Congress could suggest that they go chase themselves." u

The text is accompanied by several cartoons (which have previously been published), all of a derogatory nature to the Bureau and the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities. u

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *Alb*

DATE: March 5, 1959

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

SUBJECT: "HOW THE CHURCH CAN HELP
WHERE DELINQUENCY BEGINS"
BY GUY L. ROBERTS
BOOK REVIEW
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
DeLoach _____
McGuire _____
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SYNOPSIS

Dr. Guy L. Roberts gives minister's viewpoint on delinquency in captioned book. Has written book to express belief that church has a vital role to perform with problem children and their families. He states that the church should be first source of help to individual and family. It is in an excellent position to counter fear and hate, common with problem children, with faith and love. Dr. Roberts believes that "problem young people" are basically religious, but their religious lives are functionally weak. A more realistic and creative type of Christian education is needed. This will combat philosophy of "self-expression" and "empty freedom" which rules out the claims of "self-sacrifice" and "self-control." By neglect, we have made the modern family what the Marxists by social planning have made it. Failures in community living produce delinquency. The relative failure of the probation system is due to failure to establish adequate counseling relationships. Church is in position to make available consecrated men and women properly equipped for this task. However, a key factor in any planned approach to delinquency problem is adequate counseling service in schools. Dr. Roberts holds more hope for future as churches are finding and accepting a primary responsibility in alerting the community to its responsibilities. Dr. Roberts does not refer to Director or FBI. No information in Bureau files identifiable with Dr. Roberts, a Methodist minister.

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RECOMMENDATION:

REC- 58

62-46855-8

For your information.

EX-135

MAR 10 1959

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1 - Section tickler
1 - R. W. Smith
1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. M. A. Jones
1 - 62-46855 - Original

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CENTRAL RESEARCH

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "HOW THE CHURCH CAN HELP
WHERE DELINQUENCY BEGINS"

AUTHOR GIVES MINISTER'S VIEWPOINT ON DELINQUENCY

X "How the Church Can Help Where Delinquency Begins," by Guy L. Roberts is essentially a minister's viewpoint regarding problem children. Dr. Roberts has specialized in psychology and counseling. He earned his Ph.D. degree at the University of Pittsburgh and pursued other graduate work at Columbia University and the University of Glasgow (Scotland). He attended the Seminary of Boston University and studied at Southern Illinois University and the University of Pittsburgh. Dr. Roberts is currently the minister of the First Methodist Church, Clarkston, Washington.

Nothing in Bureau files identifiable with Dr. Roberts. The Director and FBI are not referred to in this book. The author uses various other authorities and statistics based in case studies to support his position. (Book jacket)

CHURCH HAS VITAL ROLE TO PERFORM

This book was written to express the belief that the church has a vital role to perform with problem children and their families. While a growing number of religious leaders know this fact, the general public and vast majority of church members do not. Dr. Roberts discusses the various bases of juvenile delinquency from the various so-called authoritative sources. Dr. Roberts notes that the pattern in the course of juvenile delinquency differs from case to case but in all cases "love" is inadequately expressed. A primary function of the church is to make (Christian) love applicable to the individual and the family. It should be the first source of help. (pp. 7, 35)

ALL CHILDREN ARE POTENTIAL DELINQUENTS

According to Dr. Roberts, many children have problems that may become too difficult for them to solve. Thus, all children may become problem children or delinquents because of the stress of these insolvable problems. One child in a family of several children can become a delinquent because no two children in a family have the exact environment or problems. Many seemingly unimportant environmental factors such as comic books may "trigger" the immediate pattern of delinquent response. However, with most problem children, fear and hate have won over faith and love. Of course, the parent should step in to assist potential delinquents with their difficult problems, but the church is in excellent position to step in and re-create around problem children patterns of wholesome social relationships based on understanding, faith, and love. Dr. Roberts described "love" as meaning discipline and firmness, as well as tenderness. (pp. 31, 40, 42-43, 144)

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: "HOW THE CHURCH CAN HELP
WHERE DELINQUENCY BEGINS"

SHALLOW-ROOTING OF CHRISTIAN IDEAS

Among Dr. Roberts' conclusions is a statement "These problem young people of ours--of our churches, our communities, our homes--are basically religious." However, religious lives of delinquents may be idealistically strong though functionally weak. We need to provide a more realistic and creative type of Christian education. Right ideas have been accepted uncritically but concepts and convictions were shallow-rooted and the deeper emotional drives, such as resentment and aggressive feelings, left largely unaffected. (pp. 73, 74)

SELF-EXPRESSIONS AND EMPTY FREEDOM

Dr. Roberts quotes a source stating that we are doing by neglect much of what the Marxists have done by social planning. In this connection, the modern family makes three fundamental mistakes. "First it sees a marriage as mere contract, second, it understands marriage as a private affair, and third, it adopts a philosophy of self-expression and empty freedom which rules out the claims of self-sacrifice and self-control." He states that the church has the only adequate philosophy of family life to counter this weakness and has access to the family as no other agency has. Countering this deficiency in family life will aid the prevention of delinquency. Dr. Roberts indicated that he does not mean to say that the frightened and irresponsible parent can delegate the authority to the church, "but his church is the one supporting agency that can work with him every step of the way from the birth of the child to its maturity..." Problem children must suffer the consequences of the church's failure to live up to their potentialities. (pp. 75, 76, 92, 96)

ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THERAPY

The counseling function of ministers and the role of the church in therapy are questioned by professional and lay workers in religious and social services. In some instances where resentment and anxiety are not too deep or alienation not too complete, the problem child may be able to adjust to other persons in the church atmosphere of fellowship and love. However, many children are beyond this and need the help of a trained counselor. Dr. Roberts claims that the church today has recognized this need and is training its ministers to be counselors. He does not believe technical training is enough as counseling is more an art than a science, the art of establishing a relationship.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "HOW THE CHURCH CAN HELP
WHERE DELINQUENCY BEGINS"

Based on a study of 200 delinquent boys and girls in Texas, the book set forth the following conclusions relating to the delinquents and their homes:

- "(1) In about 75 per cent of the homes of the respondents, parents have shown some attempts at attending church.
 - (2) There is a definite lack of interest on the part of the parents toward active participation within the organization of the church.
 - (3) There is a noticeable lack of religious literature in the homes of the respondents--found in only one-third of the homes.
 - (4) There is little religious training in the homes, but a great desire on the part of many of the respondents for such training.
 - (5) Churches have had some contact with over three-fourths of the respondents; two-thirds of the respondents claim church membership and slightly over three-fourths of them claim regular or occasional attendance at Sunday school and church, particularly in early childhood.
- (II) Positive attitudes toward the Church, the Bible, and Jesus, and positive beliefs in the existence of God seem to indicate a tacit acceptance of the values of God, the Bible, Jesus, and the Church." (p. 72, 73)

On this premise, Dr. Roberts feels that the problem youth are basically religious. Thus, the church has a solid entree to aid the problem youth and their families.

PROBATION HAS BEEN ONLY RELATIVELY SUCCESSFUL

In the past, probation has been only relatively successful. The relative failure of the probation system is basically a failure in establishing an adequate counseling relationship. The Church is making available to the courts the consecrated men and women best equipped to establish this relationship. Certainly, a key factor in this program is an adequate counseling service that begins in the schools. Two centuries of scientific progress, industrial development and social changes have brought so many changes in social functions under the

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "HOW THE CHURCH CAN HELP
WHERE DELINQUENCY BEGINS"

control of secular agencies that the role of the church and its influence have greatly lessened in modern life. The trend in changing; the churches of the community are finding and accepting a primary responsibility in alerting the community to its responsibilities.

Delinquency is failure in community living. The prevention and cause of delinquency (and mental illness) reside in the community.
(pp. 144, 147-150)

SAC, Philadelphia

2-Original & copy
1-yellow file copy
1-Section tickler
1-

March 4, 1959

b6
b7c

Director, FBI (62-46855) 1-J. S. Johnson, 331, OPO

**"THE U. S. GOT RED
CHINA ALL WRONG"
BOOK REVIEWS**

The New York Times, Monday, March 2, 1959, issue
(page C-25) carried the following information:

"The U. S. Got Red China All Wrong -- as seen by
an old China hand -- Shows why & how Mao Tse-tung
won the hearts & minds of the Chinese. Refutes
every point in U. S. policy of nonrecognition. Points
out the reality & feasibility of the Golden Triangle
of China, Russia and U. S. Original & thought-
provoking. \$1 post-paid. P.O. Box 7354,
Phila. 1, Pa."

You should discreetly obtain one copy of the above
book, and forward it to the Bureau by routing slip, attention
Central Research Section.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

*1 copy of
above book
received in
3/23/59.
Admitted to SACD. Brennan
CRS.
AMB.*

Book appears to support propaganda re Communist China.
It is felt the book should be reviewed in view of the propaganda
nature.

ENCLOSURE

162-46855-
NOT RECORDED
136 MAR 20 1959

ENCLOSURE	MAILED 31 MAR 4 - 1959 COMM-FBI
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AMB:aml

(6)

53 MAR 23 1959

20 MAR 19 1959

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-76293-4

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: February 24, 1959

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEWS
CONTROL BY PUBLICATIONS DESK
CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION
62-46855

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

W.C. Sullivan
W.C. Sullivan
W.C. Sullivan

Reference is made to the Memorandum to All Bureau Officials and Supervisors dated January 21, 1959, entitled "Book Review Control by Publications Desk, Central Research Section." Referenced memorandum set forth current procedures to be followed in connection with book reviews conducted at the Seat of Government. It is vital that all personnel handling book reviews in the respective divisions be aware of the procedures set forth in the referenced memorandum.

For additional information in this matter, a copy* of all book reviews should be placed in Bufile 62-46855.

Interested personnel in the respective divisions should also be aware that the Publications Desk is now listed on the yellow FBI Telephone Directory under the caption "Classified," and inquiry concerning book review matters should be directed to this Desk.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be forwarded to all Division heads for appropriate handling.

* Or original

AMB:aml
(12)

62-102

REC-105

62-46855-9

1-Section tickler
1-
1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. DeLoach
1-Mr. Mohr
1-Mr. Holland

1-Mr. Parsons
1-Mr. Rosen
1-Mr. Tamm
1-Mr. McGuire
1-Mr. Trotter

23 MAR 12 1959

CENTRAL RESEARCH

66 MAR 17 1959

b6
b7c

The Eden Press

P.O. Box Number 95
Mount Vernon, New York

"Books That Touch Life"

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

MAR 2 1959

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Please accept with my best wishes the enclosed copy of my newly published book, SUFFER THE CHILDREN;

It is my fervent hope that this book will serve to throw more light upon the menace that threatens freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

Most sincerely yours,

Jerome Eden
Jerome Eden

JE:de
Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

REC-28 62-46855-110

23 MAR 17 1959

53 MAR 19 1959

~~EXP. PROC.~~

MAR 6 1959

and given to the back memo, 3/11/59, 4/1/5

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 3/11/59

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: BOOK ENTITLED
"SUFFER THE CHILDREN"
BY JEROME EDEN

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Nease	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

DeLoach
McGuire
W.C. Sullivan

BACKGROUND:

By letter to the Director dated March 2, 1959, attached, Mr. Jerome Eden, of the Eden Press, Mount Vernon, New York, transmitted a copy of his newly published book entitled as captioned. In his note Mr. Eden expressed the hope that his book will throw more light upon the menace that threatens freedom-loving peoples everywhere. It is noted that the bibliography of this book lists "Masters of Deceit," on page 152 as Item 19.

In the acknowledgement to his book, Mr. Eden mentioned, among other things, that all he knows about the biological, life-energy of the living organism, of its functional identity with the sexual energy in man, he is indebted either directly or indirectly to the work of Dr. Wilhelm Reich. The preface to the book indicates that Eden is an educator and a member of a civilization which has reached a perilously critical stage in its development. Eden has been deeply concerned over local, national and planetary events of recent years. He states that it is his conviction that what is happening has its roots in the personal relations between the individual man and woman, parent and child, child and teacher; further, that it is man who perverts the warm streaming love of the child into a cold, dirty "act" of pornography.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Bufiles reflect that Dr. Wilhelm Reich founded The Orgone Institute at Rangeley, Maine, in 1942 to commercialize his theory of cancer treatment through control of biological energy. Reich was subject of an Internal Security investigation, (Bufile 100-14601) and we have a voluminous file on his foundation (Bufile 105-11461). In 1954 the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) secured an injunction against Reich and his associates for their quack methods of curing cancer and other serious diseases. In October, 1957, our files indicated at that time, that Reich was serving a prison sentence for contempt of court for violation of this injunction.

Enclosures (2)

WHS:apa

(3)

53 MAR 19 1959

REC-28

62-46855-11

23 MAR 17 1959

CRIME REC.

M. A. JONES to DELOACH MEMO

Since November, 1955, Reich and members of his staff bombarded the Bureau with complaints of perjury, fraud and other irregularities in handling of the FDA and court action against them. As a matter of policy, the Bureau has not been acknowledging communications from Reich and his associates. According to Mr. Eden's book, Reich died on November 3, 1957.

Further, files reflect that we received letters from Mr. Jerome Eden dated 5-31-58, pertaining to the work of Dr. Reich, and another letter dated 10-13-58, wherein he forwarded to the Bureau's attention a pamphlet dealing with psycho-political warfare. Neither of these two communications was acknowledged.

RECOMMENDATION:

That instant letter from Mr. Eden and his book not be acknowledged by the Director.

GRL
3/12

Jaguar
H

D

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AMB*

DATE: February 18, 1959

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

SUBJECT: "THE PROFESSOR AND THE COMMISSIONS"
 by BERNARD SCHWARTZ;
BOOK REVIEWS
Bufile 62-46855

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Nease _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

Reference is made to the memorandum from M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach dated 2-9-59, captioned "Dr. Bernard Schwartz, Former Chief Counsel of the House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight." Referenced memorandum indicated that a book by Schwartz was to be published 2-17-59. Schwartz, it will be recalled, recently received wide publicity which stemmed from charges he made alleging that undue influence was being exerted by Government officials on matters pending before Federal regulatory commissions.

A copy of the captioned book has been received by the Central Research Section and is enclosed. The book warrants review to determine whether it contains information of an investigative nature of interest to the Bureau as well as for any information of general interest to the Director or other Bureau officials.

Book reviews, it will be recalled, are currently handled in accordance with instructions contained in the memorandum to all Bureau officials and supervisors dated 1-21-59, captioned "Book Review Control by Publications Desk - Central Research Section."

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed book be forwarded to the Investigative Division for review.

Enclosure

AMB:aml

(6) *Amel*

1-Section tickler

1-

1-Mr. Belmont

1-Mr. Rosen

1-Main file on Schwartz

REC-69

62-46855-12

MAR 12 1959

b6
b7c

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-46855-12

CENTRAL RESEARCH

MAR 19 1959

new folder to Rosen 3/4/59
(Book reviewed by Bureau)
Filed in Bureau
Amel

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Rosen

DATE: March 10, 1959

FROM : [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: "THE PROFESSOR AND THE COMMISSIONS"
by BERNARD SCHWARTZ;
BOOK REVIEWS
Bufile 62-46855

b6
b7C

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
DeLoach _____
McGuire _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

*Book filed in
Tolson's Library
Am.*

This is to advise that the above book written by Dr. Bernard Schwartz, former chief counsel, House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight has been reviewed. In the book Schwartz details the experiences of his relatively brief career investigating the six Federal regulatory commissions. There is nothing new in the book that has not been disclosed by public hearings of the subcommittee and in newspaper accounts of the hearings, nor is the FBI mentioned.

Schwartz cites the historical and legislative background of the six regulatory commissions, the problems and obstacles he faced in conducting his inquiries and his observations relative to his ouster as chief counsel of the subcommittee.

Schwartz recounts the alleged illegal influences exerted by Thurman A. Whiteside, Miami attorney, on Richard A. Mack who was a commissioner for the Federal Communications Commission. His allegations related to the activities of Mack and Whiteside in connection with the granting of a TV license for Miami Channel 10 to Public Service Television, a firm which Whiteside represented. Our investigation of the Mack-Whiteside matter resulted in the indictment of these individuals on 9/25/58, for conspiracy and obstruction of justice in the U. S. District Court, Washington, D. C. This matter is awaiting trial.

Schwartz also restates allegations of improper influence by Sherman Adams on behalf of Bernard Goldfine in connection with the Federal Trade Commission and Securities Exchange Commission matters involving Goldfine.

Schwartz also recommends the transfer of the judicial powers now vested in regulatory commissions to the ordinary Federal courts to eliminate the existing evils in the regulatory commissions.

It appears from a review of the book that Schwartz considers Congressman Oren Harris the main villain in placing obstacles

CC-1 [REDACTED]

1-Mr. Belmont

1-Main File on [REDACTED]

RMM:eam
(8)

REC-69

62-46855-13

MAR 12 1959

66 MAR 20 1959

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-46855-13

RESEARCH
FBI

Memorandum to Mr. Rosen

in his path in conducting an objective and searching investigation of the regulatory commissions. It is noted that the recent press indicated that Congressman Harris was quoted as stating that Schwartz' book merely reconfirmed his opinion that the greatest mistake the subcommittee made was employing Schwartz in the first instance.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be forwarded to the "Book Review Control by Publications Desk - Central Research Section."

Don

Roz

ENCL. TO BU (62-46855) (1)

FROM PH (105-4394)



62-46855-14
ENCLOSURE

THE U. S. GOT RED CHINA ALL WRONG



As Seen By An OLD CHINA HAND



1959

Copyright 1959
by HSIEH ITZEN

First printing 2000 copies

DEDICATION

To the citizens of the world,
lonesome, but never lost.

CONTENTS

FOREWORD ABOUT THE AUTHOR

I—THE NEW CHINA

—the futility of stop-Russia or stop-China movement—the Chinese soul—secrets of Communists' successes—Mao as a leader—Mao's appeal to the masses—Love affair between the people and the Government—Facts about terror and fear—picture of the Old China—a disciplined life—the "Paper Tiger" philosophy—why they will not become imperialists themselves—

II—THE CHINA POLICY OF JOHN FOSTER DULLES

—Reflections on the Korean War—the reckless North Koreans—Red China was dragged into it—America's blind passions—the proper perspective—Mr. Dulles made a deal—Peking cannot bargain on Taiwan—attacks on Red China untrue—sound advice from a Canadian leader—Peking may turn down bids from US and UN—

III—THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE: COEXISTENCE OF AMERICA, CHINA AND RUSSIA

—a God-ordained set-up to keep world peace—there must be East-West talks—no reason to fear Russian propaganda—American intransigence—Chinese population no threat—the Golden Triangle can keep its balance—opposition from anti-Communists discussed—non-Communist governments can be a bigger menace—Red China and Russia can be peace-loving—Reds will be stupid to communize US—nations should observe both versions of the Golden Rule—

IV—EPILOGUE

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The author was born and raised in China, educated in an American missionary college in Shanghai, and worked for the Chiang Kai-Shek Government for a few years during the Sino-Japanese War. He had travelled extensively in China, Southeast Asia and Europe, as a journalist and writer.

For the last eighteen years which represent two-thirds of his adult life, he has resided continuously in this country. He has never been a Communist or had anything to do with the Communist parties. All he has been reading in these years are the mass-circulated American magazines and newspapers.

These essential facts are outlined here just to prove that the thoughts presented in the three articles are not the result of any brain-washing by the Chinese Reds. It is hoped that readers will weigh them for whatever they are worth as the products of independent and original thinking.

PART I

THE NEW CHINA

History often repeats itself, but many leaders of men have chosen to ignore the lessons of history or tried to impose their own interpretations. For years after her emergence, the great country of Soviet Russia was treated as an outcast of the international society. The result was a near disaster to mankind. Hardly a generation later, the new China has been getting somewhat the same treatment from the same quarters.

It does not require much wisdom or vision to see that the world is still in the stage of Great Power politics and the new China, about ten years old, must be ranked among the leading 3 or 4. It should be evident to everyone, therefore, nothing important and permanent can be accomplished in the family of nations without active participation of the real China. It is also evident that those in the West still attempting to exclude and restrain the Government of Peking are, to say the least, closing their eyes to realities. As those see-no-evil people are now filling the eminent roles of China experts and making decisions affecting all of us, we the old China hands who have been watching the new China with wide open eyes do feel compelled to ask for the right to speak.

Before any Westerners can understand what the new China is all about, let them first realize what the Great Powers of the West had been trying to do to the Great Powers of the East. If we pick the year 1851 as the inauguration of the Modern Era, we shall find the Western Powers wasted the first one hundred years of the golden modern times to restrain and combat the rise of the Russian nation, beginning with the Crimean War of 1854 to 1856 and culminating with the two world wars, both started by Russia-hating Germans. Yet Russia today is much stronger than England, France, Germany, Austria and Japan, whose governments spearheaded at one time or another the movement to stop Russia and had won great battles against her. Let us fervently hope that the second hundred years of the modern man will not be so wasted in an equally futile attempt to stop China. If the Eisenhower administration had succeeded to embroil America in a war with China and Russia at the same time, it would have got itself committed to a stupendous undertaking, the tragic nature of which will defy imagination of epic poets of all ages.

What kind of people is the Chinese? What is the Chinese soul like? For a foreigner to understand any people to any extent, a smattering of their language is always the first requisite. Since the Chinese language is a very rich and very old one, to acquire a smattering of it is difficult enough, yet a complete mastery of it is required of any scholar wishing to penetrate the Chinese soul. This is why your old China hand discards his usual modesty and ventures to fill in.

Concerning the Chinese language, it should be pointed out here that the more I studied the Western languages and literatures, the more fascinated I am by the Chinese language. This is because: 1, the Chinese language has been proved to be the primary factor that has held all Chinese together through time and space. If the Chinese race had started with a phonetic language instead, the whole country would have been Balkanized long ago. In the place of one nation indivisible, there would have been scores of rival states there with different languages and heritages. 2, the Chinese language is the most beautiful, to the eye at least, and its poetry of the Tang Dynasty will always remain unsurpassed in the world treasury of poems. My favorite poet is Mr. Li Shang-Ying of afore-said period who left the posterity many immortal stanzas which in just 14 words at once portrayed and chanted the tenderest sentiments of immortal love. Following is one of such stanzas that I have considered truly the greatest and truly revealing of the Chinese soul:

In Chinese he wrote some twelve hundred years ago,

春 蠶 到 死 絲 方 盡
蠟 炬 成 灰 淚 始 乾

Rendered freely in English he meant,

*"The silkworms of Springtime
spill their heart's blood like a stream of flood
until they are very dead;
the wax candles have their tears shed,
drop by drop, without any stop,
until into ashes they spread."*

To me this is the answer: the Chinese soul has been one full

of blood and tears. The Chinese race is a remarkable people very deep in family loyalty, very ardent in love and very long in suffering. This is true of the old China and, with some happy improvement, also true of the new China. The 650 million people are now pouring out one gigantic flood of heart's blood into national rebuilding instead of family clanism, while the unstoppable tears shed are now tears of great joy. The Chinese people truly believe they now have the best government in their five thousand years of recorded history. No Chinese government had ever succeeded to unify the whole country as solidly as this one. No Chinese government had ever succeeded in the task of feeding all its people as this one. No Chinese government had worked so conscientiously and accomplished so tremendously on behalf of its people like this one. Travellers from the new China invariably spoke of the happy smiling faces they have seen all over there. President Sukarno of Indonesia who visited China a couple of years ago recounted eloquently his encounters with happy Chinese there and left no doubt that he felt the Chinese people are much happier than their contemporaries in Russia and the United States where he also toured.

New China's industrialization and modernization during the first nine years of its young life has been nothing short of a miracle. As they say, all beginnings are difficult. Now, a good start has been made and the economic development is gathering momentum. Her steel production in 1957 was 5,350,000 tons. This amount is doubled by the end of 1958, thus equaling to the steel output of France. It is reasonably sure that the output will be pushed to 20,000,000 tons at the end of 1959, overtaking Britain. Production figures in other important fields such as rice, wheat, coal, cotton, etc., have also been soaring into fantastic heights. The great "leap forward" movement has been going on not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. Scientific inventions, mechanical wonders and engineering feats have been piling up rapidly. Illiteracy had been completely liquidated and so are many other ancient evils such as uncleanness, vagrancy, prostitution and concubinage, etc. In the athletic fields, many Olympic records are reportedly broken. Thus in the most populous and oldest nation, the "greatest story on Earth" is actually being produced before our very eyes. Imagine how happy and enthusiastic the Chinese people can be!

When Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson reported on his trip to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1958, he quoted the Russian the-

atrical genius, Mr. Sergei Obraztsov, as having said about the new China, ". . . Happiness does not lie in the things one has. One may have a house, a car, plenty of food, and many things, but these do not make happiness. Happiness does not lie in today, but in tomorrow and in our dreams for tomorrow . . . People in China have had nothing, nothing. Now several hundred million people are dreaming of tomorrow. I cannot describe to you the feeling of excitement there, much, much more than even here in the Soviet Union."

It is frightening how news of the remarkable successes in the New China were actually ignored, played down, ridiculed upon and twisted around when they reach the anti-Communist press in the United States which had always prided itself as a champion of the freedom of press. On the other hand, utterly unsubstantiated reports of revolt on the Chinese mainland, issued every so often by the propaganda mills in Taiwan, have been printed under headlines and picked up by Mr. Dulles and others to illustrate their theory of the possibility of "a Hungarian type of revolt" in China. To compare the new China of glorious achievements with Hungary of 1956 is of course utterly false and dishonest, an insult to the intelligence of the audience. The Hungarians revolted against foreign occupation forces, while there are no foreign troops on the mainland of China. Any man well-informed of the Far East situation will certainly much rather speculate on the possibility of a Hungarian type of revolt in Taiwan itself, a revolt of its entire population against the forces of Chiang Kai-Shek and his American allies.

Just what are the secrets of the incredible successes of the Chinese Communist movement? Millions of Westerners who live under different conditions and by different standards are easily led to think that these successes were brought about only by sheer oppression and mass executions perhaps comparable to or even dwarfing those during the French Revolution, the Spanish Inquisition and the Hitlerian Terror. Even those who guessed more than a million anti-Communists must have been put to death have conveniently forgotten what a small percentage does one out of five or six hundred make. The real and simple truth, however, is open to all of us who seek it without bias or pre-conceived ideas.

Generally speaking, these successes are the logical consequences or harvests of some thirty years of "eating bitterness," of blood, sweat and tears, on the part of the leaders and members of the Party. Specifically, it is the magnetic leadership of Mr.

Mao, the devotion of his comrades, the superb organization, tactics and discipline of the Party; the appeal of Communism amidst poverty and insecurity that are many centuries old, amidst war devastation brought on by the Japs, and amidst widespread discontent and resentment against the corrupt and inefficient Chiang Kai-Shek regime; the "love your fellow men" conscience of the race; the fervent desire among all Chinese patriots for a unified, industrialized and strong China, etc., that have made them feel like fish in the water under the Communist rule, insomuch so we may suggest that in Mr. Mao's "New Democracy" the Chinese race apparently has found the rejuvenation of its soul.

MAO TSE-TUNG AS A LEADER

Mr. Mao Tse-Tung was born in Hunan in the southern part of China in 1893, that makes him seven years younger than Chiang Kai-Shek. He was attracted to the theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels while in his early twenties and began to play an important role in the embryonic Chinese Communist Party when the Chinese Nationalist Revolution unfurled from Canton at the tip of South China. While the success of this revolution brought Chiang to the peak of his fortune as head of the Nanking Government, Mr. Mao with a price on his head worked feverishly to build up the Communist Party which will forever bear his mark as an unexcelled leader in theory and practice, with the pen and the pistol. Despite very determined and repeated campaigns on the part of Chiang Kai-Shek to suppress them with superior forces, Mr. Mao and his loyal comrades always managed to break through the iron ring of siege and move to a new area to prepare for a fresh start. Previous to his settling down at the caves of Yen-an as his headquarters, he led his followers in the famous Long March of six thousand miles through unbelievable conditions of hardship under which they were harassed and hunted down and bombed from the air as if they were wild animals. Yet when Chiang Kai-Shek was kidnapped by two of his generals in 1936 in a revolt over his policy of being soft towards the Japs while ruthless to the Communists, it was Mr. Mao who ordered Chiang's release without harm and without conditions. From that time on, the United Front against the Japs was formed and was not seriously broken until the Jap surrender. Mr. Mao's willingness to spare the life of his bitterest enemy who had killed his first wife and his many comrades is indeed in the best Chinese tradition and a revealing measure of his true patriotism and greatness.

The generation of Chinese intelligensia that Mr. Mao had to contend with was a confused and unwieldy crowd at the best. The political organizers of various Chinese parties including the Kuomintang had found it a Herculean task to recruit new members who would be willing to follow party rules and discipline. Chiang Kai-Shek's Kuomintang had all the job-holders signing up as party members but found it impossible even to collect any dues from them. The various other political parties that blossomed during the period of the United Front invariably had difficulties to expand beyond a few members in any given territory. In contrast, Mr. Mao, suppressed and hunted, was not only able to hold thousands of intellectuals together amidst great perils and sacrifices, but also built up a smooth-running clandestine party machine everywhere under the very nose of its enemies. This fact alone speaks eloquently of Mr. Mao's leadership and organizing abilities.

It is now clear that Mr. Mao gained the leadership and distinguished it by the magnetism of his personality, the profundity of his knowledge and the force of his logic. In those years of great hardship, Mr. Mao with his great understanding of Chinese failings had tended his flock with the loving kindness of a mother. He persuaded most of them to stick it out by nothing but his big heart and moving words. It couldn't have been otherwise. Chiang's publicity men loved to depict Mr. Mao as a monster executioner, a demagogue with a gun commanding obedience from his followers who cannot quit except through death. Actually, there were many thousands of young men who had flocked to Mr. Mao's camp by voluntary will, found life there unbearable, finally made excuses to leave and were permitted to go back. Thousands of such men were found serving in Chiang's various agencies during the war, many of them were hired as special agents to combat the spread of Communism. Even now, it is much easier to leave the mainland than to leave Taiwan, the so-called "*Free China*," where the rule of the police, regular and secret, is very much in evidence.

"God knows the truth but waits," proclaimed the title of a Tolstoi short story. Many black lies against Mr. Mao have turned about to haunt their propagators. Foremost of these, for instance, is the refrain that Mr. Mao and his followers are Russian puppets. Who is a real puppet now? Many ex-Nationalists are most enthusiastic in praising Mr. Mao as a great national hero who has recovered all the lost territories, except a few islands, notably Taiwan and Hongkong. This is a feat that was

only remotely dreamed of in the days of Sun Yat-Sen and Chiang Kai-Shek. In fact, instead of being a silent partner, Mr. Mao has manifested remarkable ability to win Russian leaders over to his point of view on the most important questions such as East-West relations with the result a few Western writers are already suggesting that the capital of the Communist world has been shifted to Peking. At the same time, both Russia and China have shown no end of mutual admiration and devotion that wishful thinkers are despaired of any prospect of a breach between the two. Mr. Mao cannot detest more the idea of his becoming another Tito.

MAO'S APPEAL TO THE MASSES

It has often been repeated that the Chinese are too individualistic to believe in and carry out the principles of Communism and collectivization as advocated by Mr. Mao's party. This is perhaps the cornerstone of the position taken by Dulles and Chiang who proclaimed that Communism in China is only a passing phase. "One day it will pass." These are ambiguous words. In the light of their belligerent stand vis-a-vis the Quemoy Islands, they must have meant that the 71-year-old Chiang Kai-Shek has pretty good prospects of outlasting the Peking Government. How wrong can one's judgment be!

Like fallen leaves before a strong wind, Chiang's regulars were easily swept away from one bastion to another on the Chinese mainland by the Communist forces in about six months in 1949. Such ease attests to the great popularity of Mr. Mao's party and creed among the long-suffering Chinese people who have become thoroughly sick and tired of twenty odd years of Chiang's misgovernment and the terrible Japanese invasion. The Chinese people are individualistic only in the sense of self-reliance; don't forget they also have strong group consciousness. Up to the modern era, the only group the Chinese really belong to was the family clan. It was the duty of every person with an income to contribute as much as he could to the relief and aid of the poor and unfortunate relations. The terrible Japanese invasion, however, has clearly taught every Chinese that clanism is entirely out-moded and he must give up everything, his very life if necessary, to a strong government for real protection of his clan and his immediate family. Since the corruption and incompetence of the Chiang regime had been proved beyond any doubt, whom could the Chinese turn to except the Communists?

Communism's greatest appeal to the Chinese masses is, of course, in its creed of economic equality. Let us keep in mind the fact that the Chinese race is one of the most homogeneous. They are all descendents of the "old one hundred surnames." Those bearing the surnames of Liu, Li, Chao, Chu, Chou, Chen, etc., may very well have been direct descendants of emperors, and nearly everyone could have been the offspring of certain great historical personage on either his father's or his mother's side. Thus if certain Bostonians have been tracing back their family trees to some three hundred years ago and are very proud to claim certain earliest settlers on American soil as their forefathers, the Chinese certainly have as much pride, if no more, in their illustrious ancestors reaching back a couple of thousand years. This is indeed the common heritage of the Chinese that they can all share alike. This is also a source of great strength and unity unknown to the other Great Powers. This type of racial purity and equality automatically insures political and social equality. Hence the oft-quoted saying among the Chinese: "Within our borders, all men are brothers." In addressing an all-Chinese gathering, a Chinese speaker should always say, "My fellow brothers and sisters," and never say, "Ladies and gentlemen." Against this racial background, the economic inequality brought to the fore by Kuomintang's embrace of Capitalism was deeply frowned upon, while tales of conspicuous consumption among Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's relations who were suspected of stealing from the national treasury incited great resentment among the masses who were frugal by instinct. This was considered one of the main causes of Chiang's downfall.

The afore-mentioned Chinese trait of resentment against the undeserving rich and any forms of economic inequality is deep-seated and dated back to the ancient times. Confucius and his disciples had repeatedly stated that "the primary worry of a state is not scarcity, but inequality; not poverty, but discontent." There is great truth in it when applied to the study of Chinese history. The average Chinese has an uneasy conscience when his family eats sumptuous fare while some family in the neighborhood has not a bowl of rice. There is an old saying in Chinese that "the presence of a single outcast throws the whole assembly into an unhappy mood." In other words, a Chinese will never complain of a scanty fare if that is the fare for everybody, but his social conscience will not allow the exclusion of anyone present from sharing the bowl of rice. "Let everybody eat" is just about the

first commandment in the Chinese code of social conduct. A recognition of this basic trait in the Chinese character throws plenty of light on the successes of Communism and collectivization in the new China.

During these last ten years or so, the Chinese masses were very much heartened in the fact that, far different from the Kuomintang, the Communists have been true to their platform and given the people more than what they hoped for in their fondest dreams. Besides the solid unification of the country and the recovery of its territorial integrity, as well as the elevation of the country to the status of a truly great Power, the economic achievements are glittering and fabulous; all kinds of machines, trucks, cars, ships, airplanes, even air-conditioners, are being produced in ever-increasing quantities; steel furnaces, coal mines, textile mills, etc., are working full blast and booming everywhere; highways, railroads, canals, airfields, dams and bridges appeared like miracles all the time. The newly-introduced Communes promise to provide cradle-to-grave security to everybody. No wonder the government and the people have such confidence in each other that they even managed to conquer the natural calamities of drought and flood which for centuries have periodically plagued a helpless people. When famine threatened in the middle of 1957, millions of party elite and high-placed intellectuals and army officers pitched in day by day and working shoulder to shoulder with the old, humble peasants and the threat was completely routed. The new China was thus saved by her own efforts the very tragic experiences incurred by the Russians in the great famine of 1922-23. Instead of agrarian sabotages, the Chinese farmers are indeed having an epic love affair with their government and brain workers. And so are all Chinese of all walks of life. We may safely say of Mr. Mao Tse-Tung, the greatest leader in Chinese history, that there never was a living man so deeply beloved by so many millions of his own people.

What is the outside world going to do in face of such a new China growing in numbers and strength with full speed every year? The leading Western Power may pick a quarrel with her and throw everything at her, but what is the use? Like the oft-quoted words of some Chinese leader that said, in a great war there will still be some 300 millions of Chinese left. After all, the Chinese never cared too much about their life or comfort. Now, this fatalistic race has got a good cause: Like Nathan Hale, the 650 millions are ready as one man to say, "I regret that I have

but one life to give for my country." It is much better to woo them with love like Russia has been doing with gratifying results to both, or to treat them with respect like Britain and India have done and gain respect in return, than to act defiant and talk belligerent like old man Syngman Rhee did with tragic consequences to his little country and people.

NOTE: Dr. Syngman Rhee has never refrained from voicing his hatred of Korea's big three neighbors, namely, Japan, China and Russia. During his days of exile, he professed to be a great admirer of China, but was scornful of the United States. In Dr. Rhee, we have the strange scene of an opportunist from a little country trying to bully the biggest. It must be admitted that such a person, with dictatorial powers, can make a little country a great menace to world peace.

A DISCIPLINED LIFE

Americans and foreigners who write for the mass media of information have never missed the chance to denounce the so-called terror, fear, conformity and inhuman conditions prevailing in Red China. The fact stands out that, in comparison to other great upheavals in history, these Chinese Communists have accomplished the most at the least cost in human lives and suffering. The revolution of 1949 was itself most remarkable in the complete routing of Chiang Kai-Shek's vast regular army with so little bloodshed that makes Fidel Castro's campaigns in Cuba look like a massacre. Another most remarkable thing is the fact, clear to everyone now, that the revolution and ten years of magnificent reconstruction were done without any aid from foreign countries; the American taxpayers have not spent a single penny to help them and the Russians have been paid back for all the trade credits extended. We would like to know whether anyone, Chinese or otherwise, or any political party, past or present, can aspire to accomplish a half of the things accomplished by Mr. Mao's group of selfless men.

To get some idea of the great contributions made by the Chinese Communists to the biggest and oldest nation on earth, it will be necessary to keep in mind a picture of the Old China. Many old China hands are still around and there are many books and printed matters still available in every library that will give an inquisitive mind plenty of satisfaction as to life and conditions before the Chinese Communists. Briefly, things were more or less like the United States during the deepest gloom of the Depression, except that in China the depression had been going on for many centuries. With a nomadic or sea-faring people, great hordes would have gone abroad to pillage or conquer. But the Chinese farmers had no warlike traditions and rather chose to die of starvation near their ancestral graves. The wiser and luckier

ones among them might have stored up a little grain to enable them struggle along until they wrest another harvest from the good earth. Since drought, flood, pests and pestilences were forever hovering on the horizon, hunger and starvation were never far away for a great majority of the people. Antiquated means of transportation made relief and rehabilitation just about impossible. The only chance to get some relief was for the families to go begging, to sell the females and children, and to swap babies and toddlers to be eaten. The old would be left to die and the young men sold their services to any warlords or bandit chiefs. Thus even during those times without any foreign invasion, there was always terror in the present and fear of the future. Great miseries and suffering manifest themselves in the faces of the untold millions everywhere of beggars, vagrants, prostitutes, child slaves and dying men and women. And this was the picture of the old China that the Communists have blotted out forever and the friends of Chiang Kai-Shek lamented for its passing.

As we have noted, the people of New China are happy and dreaming of their tomorrow. Many foreign visitors and reporters have wandered into China and been allowed the freedom of the whole country. Didn't any of them ever report the presence of any terror reminiscent of the old times? No, absolutely no. We can imagine there must be some fear and witch-hunting among the old guards, just as we find the ghost of Joseph McCarthy still haunting these United States. Among the few hundred thousand Russian and Chinese descendants here, we can also imagine there must be a good number who have faith in their old countries and oppose the Cold War, but fear is almost universal whenever they are asked by a stranger for their political feelings. It is self-evident if we are dedicated to the freedom of fear, we must first of all stop the Cold War because it breeds fear and witch-hunting here as well as there. Actually, there is little left of the Iron Curtain and no more of the Bamboo Curtain. In China, an American reporter can not only enjoy freedom of speech and movement, but also the freedom from censorship. The truth of the matter is, instead of a Bamboo Curtain over China, there is nothing but a Dulles Curtain against China. Any American newspaperman will tell you so, albeit off the record.

If we need another proof of the fact that people in China are not dying like flies or executed by the thousands, we have only to open our eyes and ears to be told that Chinese population is increasing so fast they will soon inundate the whole world.

And the Chinese Government is apparently doing a good job of feeding such a population. The recent Commune movement has apparently been slowed down, not because of unworkability, but to insure a steady and smooth progress. It definitely is not a crack-pot idea or utopian dream, but points to a condensation of the very best of Chinese and Western thinking on the noblest topic of human brotherhood. To transform a giant crowd of 650 millions of loose individuals, likened to a pile of loose sand by Sun Yat-Sen, into useful members of orderly communal life can certainly never be done without some kind of discipline or conformity which we define as cohesion with some coercion. Conformity as such has always been there, even in a free society. We should be aware of it here either through the process of Americanization or from something like the Dulles statement that people in the United States should support a foreign policy authoritatively laid down by the proper authorities. If Americans have many reasons to be proud of their country, the Chinese certainly have every reason to be so, especially when they compare their happy present with the unsufferable conditions of barely ten years ago. Why, we old China hands cannot seem to recall a street or countryside in the Old China without dying beggars, weeping women, naked and barefoot children, and without loathsome diseases, awful smells and nauseating dirtiness. Now, all these are forever gone. There are jobs for everybody, nurseries for the very young, schools for children and adults, "Happiness Houses" for the aged. Everyone looks healthy, well-fed and ever so clean. Unique among all the countries, Chinese hotel rooms need no locks, bank-teller's windows need no iron bars, no tips are accepted by people in serving trades and nothing of any value is ever stolen. If all this has been accomplished by an iron discipline, let us have plenty of it.

NOTE: The great saving grace in the rigorous, disciplined life in the New China is undoubtedly the exemplary behavior of the leaders and officials who have even taken up manual labor. Whenever they make mistakes themselves, they would not hesitate to indulge in severe "self-criticism."

Mr. Mao and other top party leaders are always admonishing the officials to use persuasion and to guard against arrogant or irresponsible behavior. Such behavior is termed "bureaucratism," a sure road to oblivion.

Most old China hands can remember quite vividly how the mandarins and bureaucrats in the old China can talk like a saint yet be guilty of everything from buck-passing to embezzlement, from nepotism to brutality, and from doing nothing to despotism. Can you blame the people for preferring their new officials and leaders?

ALL IMPERIALISTS ARE PAPER TIGERS

Mr. Mao Tse-Tung was known to have published a book or booklet entitled, "*All Imperialists Are Paper Tigers.*" This book is not available in the United States, either in Chinese or English.

A few writers have dwelt on this subject and even tried to analyze its underlying philosophy or psychology. Unfortunately, nothing much has come out of such study and almost every anti-Communist writer here seems actually delighted to use this catch-phrase to attack its inventor. To your old China hand, however, it works like magic and somehow reveals to him the future course of the mighty New China that peoples the world over are speculating about.

There is no doubt whatsoever that Mr. Mao and his comrades meant in their battle-cry that *all* imperialism, without any exception, are paper tigers. This all-inclusive "all" must have therefore taken into consideration of any future thrust of Chinese foreign policy toward some area like Southeast Asia that may be looked upon as Chinese Imperialism. Some speculators may even find in it an implied warning to USSR not to intrude into Chinese affairs. As far as that is concerned, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev has emphatically expressed his distaste for any meddling into Chinese quarrels by either America or Russia. It is clear, nevertheless, Mr. Mao's succinct and powerful attack on all imperialism is not merely directed against the Dulles Policy at the present but meant to challenge all would-be imperialists from here to eternity.

As I said before, I didn't have a chance to study Mr. Mao's treatise on the subject, but there is a very important tenet in Chinese philosophy which unequivocally underlines his basic idea. This is the principle well-known to all Chinese and certainly to a scholar like Mr. Mao that any perpetrator of wrong deeds will always bring about his own destruction. *In accordance with this principle, tyrants and conquerors do not increase their stature by more controls or conquests, but on the contrary become weaker with every new misdeed because more resistance and hatred are aroused.* This theory sounds like the American saying that the law will catch up with the criminal, but differs with the latter by its moral stand and its coverage of not only persons but also states, big or small. In practice, this involves a different approach to important issues such as how to meet the threats of imperialism, Fascism or Nazism. The Chinese approach would be more calm since it is philosophically and fatalistically confident of the final overthrow of the aggressor. Let us take America's position in the Second World War as an illustration.

Like a lawman waiting impatiently to catch up with the criminal, the United States Government under President Franklin D. Roosevelt acted to thwart Hitler's crazy designs in the European

theater in such a hurry and with such a fury that it neglected to reach an understanding with Stalin on a sound peace plan on the one hand and, with the Europe-first idea, unduly prolonged the war with Japan on the other. The basic American idea is that if not immediately checked, Hitler would become so strong that it would be impossible to stop him from conquering the whole world.

The Chinese approach to the Hitler menace will be quite different. Even if they would not doubt Hitler's capability in devastating all Europe, including Russia and Britain, they would have every doubt of his ability to control and hold down and, least of all, to digest the vast area and population that he could have conquered. In fact, they would think that the more countries the Nazis conquered, the thinner and weaker would be Hitler's hold, and the sooner would come the day of his total destruction by his ever-increasing enemies. Thus when the Americans were dazzled and worried by Hitler's triumphs, the Chinese would see through them as so much empty build-up of a paper tiger.

Such is the basic idea that all imperialists are paper tigers. It shouldn't be hard to predict that after recovering China's lost or stolen territories, Mr. Mao and his followers can be expected to concentrate on their dedicated task of making China the most beautiful and the best country to live in. Why should they neglect their own task and meddle in somebody else's affairs or, worse still, embark on some grandiose schemes of an imperialistic nature and thus turn themselves into paper tigers which they abhor so much?

The left-wingers of the world have come to recognize in Mr. Mao as a leading authority on Marxism and Leninism, on revolutionary strategies and tactics. Your old China hands are perhaps even more amazed to find in him a veritable source of great Chinese wisdom. Think for a moment of his handling of all religious sects in the last decade. Even the Buddhists are now working for him and the Catholic hierarchy in China have cut themselves away from the Vatican. Years from now, the Christian world may look to Mr. Mao as a more formidable foe to Papism than Martin Luther. Mr. Mao has learned and profited from almost every important thinker in the West and the East. It really pays therefore for all of us, Westerners and Easterners, friends and foes, to learn from him. What we have in mind here is another saying of Mr. Mao's that had leaked through the Dulles curtain, namely, his pronouncement on America's foreign bases. He was quoted to have said that such

bases are nothing but a noose with which American Imperialism will hang itself. This is certainly not a wisecrack as many Americans must have shrugged off, but a considered judgment right in line of Mr. Mao's Philosophy of the Paper Tiger. As these words go to the press, President Eisenhower is struggling with the Congress on the 1959 budget of 77 billion dollars. The average family-man taxpayer has long groaned under the relentless load. The national debt limit had to be raised time and again. The necessary incentives in America's vaunted Free Enterprise system are being killed by these taxes. Needless to say, the incessant flow of money into maintaining the foreign bases and the goodwill of their sovereign owners has formed an important drain and also the last few straws that can break the back of these United States.

Moreover, Russia and China have been so infuriated and provoked by American encirclement that their governments and peoples are more united and determined than they would be otherwise. Anti-Communists were quick to argue that in Russia and China, high-level decisions are made by a handful of leaders. We can truthfully say that the most important decisions reached by the Kremlin and Peking were in a large measure forced on them by the decisions made in Washington, D. C. In many cases, there could have been no alternative, except the worst one, a hot war, which they apparently have so far rejected. During the Quemoy crisis, an editorial in the Life magazine spoke wishfully and romantically about American influence on the destiny of China. The fact is, America has exerted plenty of influences on Chinese affairs even in the past decade, although such influences have done nobody any good.

As time, money and attention are poured outside of the country and the hemisphere, the home base and the backyard, from Cuba to Argentina, have been badly neglected. Canada has already gone her separate ways and traded heavily with Red China. It seems clear that Ottawa cannot hold off much longer her expected recognition of Peking. In America, much-needed civil defense exists only on paper. We might have heard that even in neutral Sweden, they have been building up-to-date shelters against nuclear air-raids, but there is not a single one of them here for the common people. In these days of rapid strides in the development of ICBMs, the very need of those foreign bases has been questioned. The Pentagon and the State Department will soon, if not already, find themselves in the dilemma of not knowing what to do with most of those bases. It will be just so many pieces of luxurious junk that we can neither use nor afford to throw away.

PART II

THE CHINA POLICY OF JOHN FOSTER DULLES

People in the United States generally do not realize or understand the deep resentment and hatred against the Eisenhower-Dulles administration among the 650 millions of Chinese. Nor do the leaders and people on the Chinese mainland have any idea that Dulles' China policy enjoyed considerable popular support and that such support was not confined within the right wing of the Republicans once led by William Knowland. Among the millions who have served or are serving in America's armed services, for instance, the passion against the new China has been very strong and widespread. It was this passion that had driven Eisenhower and Dulles to risk a nuclear war against China on account of a couple of small islands within gunshot of the Chinese mainland. The cause of this passion was, of course, Peking's part in the Korean war.

To the average member of the American Legion and V. F. W., to the generals and admirals as well as the sergeants and lieutenants in America's armed forces of 2,600,000 men and women, the atrocious Korean war represents insufferable national frustration that was unique and unprecedented in her glorious tradition of many military victories. So they cannot forget or forgive. Nor have they bothered to investigate or even think about the whys and hows, or the rights and wrongs of this war, because they are satisfied that the United States and her Allies were fighting under the flag of the United Nations and that North Korea and Red China were condemned by the UN as aggressors in this war.

It is almost a matter of certainty that the Government of the Chinese People's Republic will never tell its story and open its books on the Korean War because its leaders must have felt honor-bound not to expose the reckless blunder committed by the leaders of North Korea. If anyone cares to think the matter over and keep note of the relevant dates alone, however, he should have no difficulty to make a finding that the Chinese Communists, who had established their government in Peking on October 1, 1949 over a large, impoverished, and war-devastated territory with the largest population, definitely would not "order," urge or encourage the North Koreans to cross the 38th Parallel and precipitate a war with the United States. If the Chinese leaders

wanted a war at that time, they would have chosen as their target Taiwan, the last hideout of their arch enemy, Chiang Kai-Shek, by any means and at any cost. If this campaign was waged in 1950, they would not have risked any war with the U.S.A. and sanctions from the U.N. These simple, obvious facts should be sufficient to convince any reasonable man that the Red Chinese could not have started the Korean War or given the "go" signal to the North Koreans. Mr. Mao Tse-Tung, well-known for his limitless patience as a revolutionary and his strategy of withdrawal before great odds as a commander, would certainly have counselled patience and waiting, but in the summer of 1950, the North Koreans must have been in a reckless and impatient mood to repeat the triumph of the Chinese Communists. They might never have asked for Chinese advice because they did not need to. And they would not have listened to them either.

When the better-equipped American forces routed the North Koreans and chased them across the 38th Parallel, the Chinese Government was confronted with the grave threat of a hostile army in hot pursuit of their comrade-neighbors. Moreover, with the lessons of Japanese aggression still vivid, it seemed to be a matter of national survival that the rabid, anti-Communist old man Syngman Rhee must not be allowed to control the land and vital power plants across the shallow waters of the Yalu River. The United States would have the very same apprehension if the Russian or Chinese army should set foot anywhere in the western hemisphere in general and near the US border in particular. Any fair-minded person, therefore, can easily see that it was plainly out of considerations of self-preservation that the Peking Government reluctantly decided to send those volunteers into Korea to fight against the terrible odds. Peking's reluctance was well-recorded by former president, Harry Truman, in his memoirs in which he related the clear warnings sent by Peking through India and a few other neutral nations. In view of these facts, Americans should have little reason to grudge the Chinese, who were dragged into this war and who fought in the most valiant manner against America's superior arms and equipment.

The blind passions of the Korean War, I am afraid, are even now sending the USA, China and the rest of the world down the path of a nuclear holocaust if the hatchet is not buried soon. Acting on the premise that Red China is an aggressor and enemy of the United States, the State Department had, since the Chinese entry into the Korean War, embarked on a full-scale retaliation

against Peking in every field, along every front and with every weapon possessed by the mighty Power, just short of actual opening of fire. Military assistance agreement with Chiang Kai-Shek's remnant forces was formalized in an exchange of notes of January 30 and February 9, 1951. In May of the same year, an American military advisory group was established on Taiwan. On December 2, 1954, the mutual defense treaty with Chiang was signed which, in giving him a new lease of life, stated that in case of attack against the territories of either of the parties, the other party "would act to meet the common danger." Previously, in March, 1952, the peace treaty and a separate security treaty with Japan were approved by the US Senate, and so were a mutual defense treaty with the Philippines and a security treaty with Australia and New Zealand. On October 1, 1953, a mutual defense treaty with Syngman Rhee was signed. On September 8, 1954, the South-east Asia Collective Defense Treaty was signed by Australia, New Zealand, France, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. So the mighty United States went all out to entangle herself into all sort of alliances, even teamed up with discredited old fools like Chiang and Rhee, in utter disregard of George Washington's farewell instruction of "no entangling alliances," all done in the name of a holy crusade against the Red Chinese "*aggressor*."

Moreover, the United States has also persisted in the non-recognition of the Peking Government and spearheaded the boycott of Peking in the UN as well as in the economic, cultural and financial fields. People in the USA, whether Chinese or American citizens, have been forbidden by law to send any money into the Chinese mainland. Oppressive, anti-Chinese governments in the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, South Viet-Nam, etc., have been encouraged and emboldened to take all kinds of stern measures, including petty ones like the prohibition of using chopsticks, against non-Communist Chinese nationals living there most of their lives, all in the holy cause of suppressing subversive activities. Untold millions of Chinese in the Southeast Asia area must have been deprived of the enjoyment of their fundamental rights and the means of making a living, just because they are Chinese. If the State Department can become indignant and retaliatory when a handful of American citizens were tried and imprisoned in China on serious charges, would the Chinese government have the right to take appropriate measures, now or in due time, to demand justice and indemnity for the sufferings of their perfectly innocent

nationals? Thus a vicious circle of hatred and retaliation is clearly in sight in those Asian lands where good-neighborly relations and good will of all parties are essential to develop the potentialities there.

After Korea, there was the fighting in Indochina, ending in an armistice in the summer of 1954. Even though the leader of Viet Minh, long-bearded Mr. Ho Chih Minh, is a French-educated Communist of long standing, Peking was blamed by the State Department again for the bitter struggle and the final overthrow of French colonial rule in Indochina. Enlightened public opinion in all Western countries, including the USA, have been long aware of the surge of nationalism in all parts of Asia. At the present writing, the same surge has reached a climax in all parts of Africa. In the impoverished lands, the nationalists often found Capitalism a wasteful luxury that they cannot afford and turned to Communism as a more suitable form of political and economic development. Local Communist movements would have sprouted spontaneously in every Asian land even if there had been no Communist movement in China. The Communist Party in Japan, for instance, is believed to have had an earlier start than the Chinese. After all, Karl Marx, Engels, and Lenin were no relations of the Chinese. The sense of balance is apparently missing in America's crusade against Communist China, and, for that matter, in any crusades, ancient or modern. The prospect of mankind would be much brighter if all would-be crusaders could be required to read histories of the earliest Crusades, especially the "*Children's Crusade*." After reading these accounts, no sensible man, I am sure, will have any appetite left for any more crusades. In this connection, I may as well confess that despite my admiration of the part played by General Eisenhower in the Second World War, I never had any interest to read his book, entitled "*Crusade for Freedom*," just because of the word "*Crusade*" in the title.

To help the United States regain her proper perspective toward Red China is one thing, however, to expect her to do the right thing at this late stage when the State Department had already pledged itself to Chiang and Rhee seems to be expecting the impossible. It is perhaps as impossible as to redeem Faust after he had sold his soul to the devil. It may be a pertinent point here to cite Mr. Dulles' writings vis-a-vis his policy. He wrote early in 1950, in his book "*War or Peace*" that "if the Government of China proves its ability to govern China without serious domestic resistance, then it, too, should be admitted to the United Na-

tions . . .” These views of his were reprinted in full in the 1957 edition of his book, yet they were never carried out in his policy as the Secretary of State in the last six years whether there was war or peace in the Far East. As reported by Mr. C. L. Sulzberger of the New York Times on October 4, 1958, Mr. Dulles threw away those well-considered views when in 1953, being very anxious to be confirmed by the Senate as Eisenhower’s Secretary of State, he made a deal with the Knowland (Know Nothing) faction in the Senate to the effect that the Peking Government should not be recognized by the US or admitted into the UN. As part of this deal, Walter Robertson, a stubborn enemy of Communist China was brought into the State Department as assistant secretary of state in charge of Far Eastern affairs. As we know, Mr. Dulles has remained faithful to this faction of reactionaries and even outshone Knowland as a champion of the Chiang clique. Incidentally, according to old Chinese standards which Dulles professed to uphold and admire, his deal would have been thoroughly condemned by the Confucian school as typical of a mean person who traded his convictions for a high office.

For the USA to do the right thing, it will have to start with a full settlement of the Taiwan question. At the height of the Quemoy crisis in September, 1958, a careful study of the American press revealed that even among those who opposed a war on the off-shore islands, there was a great number who believed that Taiwan should not be returned to China and suggested that its status be decided by a plebiscite or be placed under UN trusteeship. The trouble with this proposition is that it will be forever opposed by every Chinese, Communist or Nationalist, because he or she considers Taiwan as an integral part of China. It should be clear to everyone by now that not all Chinese patriots are Communists, but all Chinese Communists are patriots. Both history and geography are on the Chinese side. The historical fact is that except for a period of Japanese conquest from 1895 to 1945, which is a period of grief and humiliation for every Chinese, Taiwan had for centuries been inhabited and ruled by the Chinese. Since, 1945, Taiwan has been under the rule of Chiang. Any proposal to put Taiwan under non-Chinese rule will have to reckon with two-fold opposition from the Chinese. That is the millions of Chinese now in Taiwan and the 650 millions on the mainland. To illustrate the point, Taiwan is certainly more Chinese and much nearer to China than the Hawaii Islands’ American character and distance to America. Would any American government let the Hawaii Islands

go without a war to the finish? Nothing will topple a Chinese Government faster than the moment it should consent to any foreign control of Chinese territory, be it Taiwan, Tibet or Manchuria. In this connection, we may point out that Mr. Dulles, despite his ostensible efforts to win the good will of some 25 millions of overseas Chinese, actually got himself resented if not hated by all of them when he repeatedly talked of Red Chinese conquest of Tibet, as if Tibet never belonged to China. To every Chinese Tibet is and always has been an integral part of China, just as Texas or Lower California is American. Any intelligent Chinese will smell 19th century imperialism when they hear such talk, because a separatist Tibet can be easily followed by a separatist Sinkiang or Manchuria, until the whole country known as China is completely dismembered. Basically, it is this fear of national dismemberment by foreign powers that is behind the tremendous popular fervor for a strong and centralized government in China, whatever political form it may take seems to be of secondary importance.

'CHINA? NEVER HEARD OF IT'



Al-Goumbouria, Cairo

All these years, Mr. Dulles had distinguished himself, also, as the commander-in-chief of Free World's propaganda drive against Red China. Every few weeks, he would see fit to make a major speech or statement reaffirming non-recognition and blasting Peking's programs, such as the epoch-making Communes, although these are quite clearly within the domains of China's internal affairs. Mr. Dulles' attacks may sound very convincing to the anti-Communist press and make headlines, but often show a real paucity of understanding of Chinese culture and a propagandist's trick of painting his own side all white and the opponent all black. Unfortunately for him, those Chinese who have remained independent do not consider Chiang Kai-Shek's group as "*Free China*" or Mr. Mao's rule as "*materialistic despotism*." If Mr. Dulles or any one in the US will dig into the New York Times of the nineteen forties, he will not fail to find many despatches by Brooks Atkinson and others that describe the Chinese Communists as agrarian reformers who are very close to the Chinese peasants who form at least 80% of the nation. Events of the last ten years have sufficiently proved the accuracy of these reports. Because Mr. Mao has been so much closer to the Chinese peasants than Chiang ever was, there has been much more freedom and democracy under Mr. Mao than the Generalissimo. In the middle of December, 1958, the news of Mr. Mao's retirement from chairmanship or presidency reached the US and was twisted around as usual with an assist from the propaganda mills of Taiwan, purporting to show that it was anything but voluntary and indicated all kinds of trouble there. The simple truth, untouched by anybody in the US, is that Mr. Mao has wanted to step down to make room for his comrades and to conserve his energy, in exactly the same way George Washington did after serving two terms of presidency.

Mr. Mao's Government is also more Chinese than any other Chinese reformer can possibly be, witnessing his preservation of time-honored Chinese values and customs, and his advancement of the old-style typically Chinese arts, music, folk theaters, Peking and provincial operas, herb medicines, many of which would perhaps have been swept away by a Western-educated Chinese reformer in a moment of reform frenzy. This is another reason why Mr. Mao has succeeded and is so well beloved by an overwhelming majority of the Chinese. If Richard Nixon can hope to win no more than 30% of the votes in a national plebiscite in the US, Mr. Mao has every reason to receive more than 95% of

the votes in his country. To the Chinese readers, Mr. Dulles simply did not know what he was talking about when he attacked China's communization as ruining Chinese culture and debasing personal dignity and involving "human slavery and cruelty on a scale unprecedented in all world history." This critic evidently never heard about the idea of Ta Tung (*the Great Harmony or Brotherhood*) which has since the time of Confucius and Lao-tze been looked upon by all Chinese scholars as the highest and most ideal form of society attainable by mankind. Mr. Mao's commune is a very near realization of this idea and should be heralded by all thinkers as a noble experiment. Here is one great country making a gigantic and apparently successful effort in economic progress without borrowing or begging a cent from American taxpayers. His Excellency, the Secretary of State, can at least refrain from throwing mud and stones at them.

When Mr. Dulles talked of the Chinese commune as a form of human slavery, he was looking in the wrong direction. In America where billions of dollars are given away every year to fight Communism in far-away places and, incidentally, to line the fat pockets of foreign mandarins and their bejewelled ladies, can we fail to see the dire poverty and suffering among the colored minorities? Don't we know that, even among the white people, the very high cost of living, the necessity of keeping-up with the Joneses, and the lack of adequate social security have driven most of the breadwinners in the low income brackets to work beyond endurance? There must be millions of White Americans, many in the teaching profession and in government services, who are forced to work at two full-time jobs or sixteen hours a day without counting travelling time in order to keep the wolves away from their mortgaged homes and cars. And don't forget the endless failures of small businesses, averaging 200 a day according to Dun & Bradstreet where many a hardworking man and wife have been losing their fight against the advance of big capital and their life's savings with it. Lastly, when Mr. Dulles talked about the commune and "*human dignity*," he must have been thinking of his own dignity in being very rich and very important. In China today, everyone feels very dignified because he or she is participating in a historic task of national rebuilding and rejuvenation, because he or she is neither exploiting others nor being exploited upon, and because he or she does not have to lie, cheat, steal, rob, murder, bargain, chisel, make shady deals, prostitute in one form or another, double talk, double cross . . . and worry to death in order to live.

In a typically Chinese code of ethics, the Chinese People's Republic had avoided resorting to tricks or gimmicks or any psychological and propaganda warfare with the USA. Honestly, and fearlessly, in public as well as in private, they have told the State Department, for instance, that they are determined to retake Taiwan, by force if necessary, simply because Taiwan is Chinese territory and none of America's business to be involved in. On the other hand, the Eisenhower-Dulles administration treated Peking's rightful aspirations and ironclad determination as a mere bluff in a poker game which the American leaders can play very well and love to play. In what he considers a master bid, Dulles insisted that Peking must agree in advance to a renunciation of using force in settling territorial disputes. If Peking agrees to this, it will be put in a position of having bargained away the sovereign right of a nation to enjoy territorial integrity and Chiang's men can easily make big capital out of this. And if Peking refuses, as it did, Dulles can triumphantly tell his audience that Peking is undeniably a potential aggressor. It is a very neat trick, almost a masterpiece in diplomacy. It would have worked in the 19th century.

The simple fact that stands out in the political realities of the 20th century is the great awakening of the sleeping giant, namely, China. The process has been slow and painful because for most of the time in the first half of this century, she was still being robbed, kicked, stabbed and bled to death by Western and Japanese Imperialism. The United States, however, had been sagacious enough to give a helping hand to the bleeding giant and built up a reservoir of good will there till the middle of this century. Now that the giant is regaining her health and strength, the State Department has been seized by fear of the future and suddenly decided to tackle the giant, to put her back to sleep, if possible. In this stupendous task, every movement by the giant causes the tackler anxiety and alarm, uttering screams of foul play and cursing the Communist bogy. The size of Chinese population itself is depicted as a menace to mankind, while the stockpile of nuclear bombs in the US is not. The truth in the population statistics is that the explosion of population is a world-wide phenomenon and the rate of increase is the highest in the American hemisphere. The United States can also multiply its population anytime by opening the gate of immigration. These facts do not deter the friends and agents of the State Department to spread German Kaiser's warning of "*Yellow Peril*" in every

land inhabited by the White Race. Every American visitor to Moscow, whether Adlai Stevenson, Walter Lippmann, or Hubert Humphrey, etc., has done the "*patriotic duty*" of whispering this fear into Russian ears. All this sowing is evidently in preparation for what Mr. Dulles and company have considered the inevitable White, Christian crusade against the pagan Yellow people, in spite of the fact weightily established by scholars that the Chinese race must have stemmed from the same ancestors in the Mediterranean region as the White peoples.

If a great majority of the American people approve of the Dulles position as "*statesmanship*," the entire civilization of the world is doomed indeed. Fortunately, there are great numbers of thoughtful Americans who do not approve at all. Mr. Dean Acheson, the predecessor of Dulles, for instance, made clear of his stand by issuing a statement on September 6, 1958 which repudiates every point in an earlier Eisenhower-Dulles statement on the Quemoy crisis. Many others, notably the chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Theodore Green, ex-Senator Herbert Lehman, authors James Warburg and Lewis Mumford etc., openly voiced their disagreements with the Dulles policy. Amid Richard Nixon's indignant call of sabotage, it was disclosed by an official of the State Department that 80% of the mail reaching the Department on Quemoy-Matsu crisis is opposed to the Administration's decision to defend these islands. In the congressional and gubernatorial elections on November 4, 1958, the Republican Party of Eisenhower and Nixon received a sound beating unprecedented in such elections and the political life of the American Cato, namely, William Knowland, was abruptly and definitely ended. As far as I know, however, either as a result of the cumulative effect of anti-Peking propaganda, or because of considerations of "*American honor, prestige and vital interests?*," no American had during this period spoken out as clearly and in a statesmanlike manner as a Canadian leader and journalist, Mr. J. B. McGeachy, from whose radio speech on September 21, 1958, entitled "*It is not yet too late*," the following passages are quoted:

" . . . first, I think, as the London Observer said, it was thoroughly dishonest to draw a comparison, as Mr. Eisenhower did, between the quite reasonable wish of the Chinese Government to control the off-shore islands and Hitler's wish to annex Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland,

and the rest of Europe. There is no resemblance whatsoever.

"Second, I ask: What is the total U. S. position in the Far East that is now being defended? So far as any reasonable Chinese can judge, the American objective is to destroy the Peking Government, undo the Chinese revolution of 1949 and re-instate Chiang Kai-Shek. As I see it, this just isn't feasible; it can't be done, even by the mighty United States. And an attempt to do it would finally involve us all in a nuclear war whose consequences would be unpredictable. . .

"Of course Communist China is an expansionist power. Its economic successes and the sheer proliferation of its people are alarming to its neighbors; and an industrialized China—with 6 or only 3 hundred million population—might have a formidable claim to be regarded as the world's leading power. But it's inconceivable to me, if this is what history has in store for us in the next 50 years, that American bombs could stop this tremendous change in human affairs—even if that were deemed desirable. . . "

In his post-election statements and speeches, however, Mr. Dulles indicated that the Republican defeat will not produce any changes in his China policy which he considers as bipartisan in character. This attitude is lamentable but hardly surprising because he holds a mandate from President Eisenhower, who can be very stubborn and who has two more years' mandate from the people yet. Both Eisenhower and Dulles have reached a sunny old age and are not looking or running for another office. They have sweated out and hammered out that policy for six years, why should they change it now when there is little time left for them to initiate and complete any major changes. While these two elderly gentlemen sit out the tenure of their offices, the younger generations of America and the rest of the world are certainly not going to wait and do nothing. In the United States, a large number of independent thinkers are known to be so disgusted with their Secretary of State that he has been dubbed, "*the Metternich of the 20th century*" and it has often been said, "*John Foster Dulles has made many Communists out of us.*" They may not be Communists in any sense, but certainly are dangerous "*radicals and socialists*" to the Nixon faction of Republicans. The best guess is that the next president of

the United States will have to be a Franklin D. Roosevelt type of leader who will make an honest endeavor to win Russian and Chinese friendship. The remarkable thing about Franklin D. Roosevelt is that here was a statesman who had the courage to do the right thing. Many Americans can still hear the cries of "*Communism*" and the voices of doom that greeted his New Deal.

It is of primary importance that an honest endeavor for co-existence be made promptly and successfully, even from the viewpoint of America's own survival. The Eisenhower Administration would have wasted eight valuable years by then and the sands of time are running out on America. China's nuclear and missile breakthrough cannot be very far away, because she is fast developing nuclear scientists of her own and attracting those from other lands. Dr. Klaus Fuchs, for instance, is recently reported to be destined for China when his prison term is up. Unmistakably, China is picking up friends as fast as the US is losing them. If the industrialization and communization on the mainland could continue their present speed of success, there are bound to be revolutionary reverberations in many lands. Very likely, Chiang Kai-Shek will be the first one to go. When such an event happens, the State Department will be put in an untenable and humiliating position, but it will be none the less welcome because a thorn in the flesh will be removed and Sino-American relations will be able to have a fresh start. It is within the realm of possibilities, however, when the olive branches are offered eventually by the US and the UN, China as a proud nation may choose to turn down either or both offers, or may attach conditions to her acceptance. As many observers have already noted, China has been actually benefited in various ways by American non-recognition and boycotts, while the same have worked more and more to the disadvantage of the US, causing resentment and disunity even among her NATO Allies. If China should turn down US recognition and UN invitation, informed world opinion will most probably blame Eisenhower and Dulles for the debacle, a debacle indeed for the UN because its whole structure under the Charter will be shaken and its usefulness may be sealed, even opening up a gate of exodus. When future historians shall investigate the wreckage of the UN, they cannot help to find out how America's one persistent veto of the most populous country on earth had actually proved to be much worse than scores of vetoes from all the other countries. And, if Mr. Dulles lives long enough, he may find one day many other aspects

of his China policy blow up against his face, including his unethical policy of building up Japan, the former arch-enemy, as a checkmate against the Chinese, who are America's traditional friends. It seems pretty clear that Americans of this generation will always remember Pearl Harbor, the sneak attack, and the Japanese can hardly forget Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the mass murders.

"Be wise today, 'tis madness to defer," so they say.

PART III

THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE: COEXISTENCE OF AMERICA, CHINA AND RUSSIA

I believe it is no exaggeration to say that these days in the United States, millions of words are spoken or printed for mass consumption every day in the "*glorious and patriotic*" cause of Cold War effort, but hardly a murmur has been allowed to go on the air or get printed to reach a nation-wide audience to the effect that co-existence of the three super-states will be as inevitable as death, as essential as the air we breathe in, and as thoroughly enjoyable as good neighbors can be. The anti-Communist propaganda had gathered such momentum in a dozen post-war years that it just could not stop to pause or think for a few minutes; for a few minutes is all we need to meditate on the emergence of this pattern of a brave new world in this Space Era in which America, China and Russia can actually depend upon each other to establish the Golden Triangle to hold up man's mission and destiny in the magnificent Universe. So long as this Triangle can keep its balance, there will be little likelihood for any one of the super-states to embark on a war of complete domination and complete extinction of mankind because it will be promptly opposed by the other two together with the rest of the world.

Unfortunately, even during the traditional Christmas season of 1958 when President Eisenhower's message of peace and goodwill to all men was being beamed to the earth from outer space, we in the United States can find all around us only the vast, formidable and heart-sickening preparations, psychological and physical, for a war of extinction. Americans like to think of themselves as God-fearing Christians, yet so far we have not heard or read about a religious leader or a statesman who has visualized the rather obvious and almost God-ordained formulation of the Golden Triangle. Even though everybody beats the drum for Freedom, the vital issues of politics, religion and racial relations are generally avoided that one often wonders what is the value of freedom if these three subjects must be left out of discussion. Any mention of co-existence immediately brings a suspicious look. Isn't it a fact that the spark, the fire of free discussion has been by now practically gone. Premier Nikita Khrushchev of Russia, as reported by Senator Hubert Humphrey,

was not uncharitable when he criticized the writings of Russia-travellers Adlai Stevenson and Walter Lippmann as the "*best of worst.*" We can only hope that it represented the slumbering conscience of America's upper class when the celebrated industrialist of Cleveland, Mr. Cyrus S. Eaton, a multi-millionaire, spoke up against the "*insane fanaticism of John Foster Dulles*" and asserted in the middle of December 1958 that a "*truculent trinity*" made up of politicians, generals and journalists, are "*relentlessly driving us toward war.*"

The world public hardly needs any blue or white books from the State Department to remind them that up to the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953, Russia used to display insane fanaticism and aggressive intransigence in her international relations. Since then the role seems to have been taken over by the Eisenhower administration, increasingly so with the passing of every year. When the Bulganin and Khrushchev goodwill mission was kissing babies the world over, the State Department deliberately slammed the doors of the United States on them. These doors have remained tightly closed to the Russians that Mr. Mikoyan had to sneak in by the irrefutable excuse of visiting the Soviet ambassador in the American capital. When the friends of Red China, including no less a world figure than Mr. Nehru, pleaded with the White House for better relations between China and the United States, the answer was an inflexible "*No.*" The publicly announced reason for such intransigence was that any summit talks with Soviet Russia will not serve any useful purpose because Russia will only exploit their propaganda value and will not keep their pledged word if it serves their interest in so doing. I believe nobody in America has ever asked the \$64,000 question as to why should the State Department be so afraid of Russian propaganda if the United States has the truth on her side, and would her refusal to hold summit talks very well serve the purpose of Russian propaganda. After all, the world public is old enough to tell what is truth and what is propaganda. As a matter of fact the Kremlin had often been its own worst enemy in the propaganda war, as witnessed by the Pasternak fiasco and the recurrent purges of erstwhile top leaders. With such generous assistance, what has Mr. Dulles to be afraid of in an encounter with Premier Khrushchev. (By the same token, America's worst set back in the propaganda war in 1958 didn't come from Communist hands but was brought about by closing of schools in the South.)

The second objection to meeting of minds with the East is just as flimsy and superficial. In this space era of very fast pace, there can be no static, permanent order of things like there used to be in the bygone centuries. Ten years ago, Japan and Western Germany lay prostrate, but they are resurgent and almost as strong as before. This change in the political order of the post-war world as brought about by the United States must be rated as important as any change or changes brought about by the efforts of China and Russia. Instead of throwing charges of bad faith around, would it be more statesmanlike to provide constant consultation and instant adjustment in a work-a-day relationship than to assume a self-righteous attitude that closely resembles an ostrich with the head in the sand.

From Chinese and Russian points of view American intransigence clearly represents its determination to overthrow Communist governments everywhere and to strive for permanent domination of the whole world. What do you expect them to do except massive resistance which has been comparatively mild so far. It could be much worse when Khrushchev and Mao Tse-Tung are gone. Speaking of Chinese Communism, any honest person with some historical sense should realize that it was sown by Western and Japanese imperialism since the year of the infamous Opium War in 1842. Only a single score of years ago, foreign gunboats, including those flying the Stars and Stripes, used to patrol the inland rivers of the Yangtze and foreign concessions were established at all the treaty ports of China in which Western-styled parks are open to everyone except Chinese and dogs. Would Americans tolerate such indignities for a single minute? Can an individual keep a sense of dignity while his country and his people are subject to gross indignities? Yet it was claimed by the Dulles school that people of Old China had more dignity than those of New China. As an old China hand, of course, I have been made aware of the difference in the epithets used contemptuously by the contemptible followers of Rudyard Kipling before and employees of China-born Henry R. Luce these days to describe the great people whose descendants might marry into every good family on earth. For those who do not know them, it was "*pigs*" before and "*ants*" now. Let us face it. Normal human nature prefers a comfortable life to a rigorous one. So is the Chinese nature, Communist or otherwise. (For instance, we are told there are many brands of liquor and cigarettes as well as dance halls in the Chinese big cities.) Normal human habits prefer walking,

fast or slow, to running and leaping all the while. Can we fail to see it is the intransigence of the State Department leading Chiang Kai-Shek in one hand and holding thermo-nuclear bombs and missiles in the other and threatening or blackmailing to blot out the Chinese mainland that had really provided the final push in China's famous "*leap forward*" movement. Eventually, I have every reason to believe that the Chinese race, always forgiving, will bury its hatchet against the State Department and even thank the latter for giving them such a push. Unfortunately for the State Department and other chancelleries of the world, however, the Chinese people, together with their leaders, may have already formed and liked this habit of working hard and leaping high that after catching up with the industrial leaders of the world they will keep on such calisthenics as to leave the rest of the world far, far behind. Hence, isn't it plainly in the paramount interest of the United States to relax the international tension without further delay?

No student of international affairs these days will seriously doubt the fact that the two Communist super-states are not identical twins. In this connection we certainly do not agree at all with some of the prophets or false prophets who have already predicted a war between China and Russia because, they say, the bulging Chinese population will soon be looking for pastures in Outer Mongolia and Siberia. As an old China hand, I am sure China and Chinese diligence and ingenuity can feed at least four billions of Chinese within her present boundaries. This figure of four billions is reached by comparing the area and population of Japan with China. Since Japan can undoubtedly support a population of 100 millions on her islands, China with a territory about 40 times larger should be able to support 4 billions. I am also aware of the fact that the Chinese people, although have proved their stamina to live in a cold climate as well as a tropical one, will invariably shudder to think of a life in Siberia. Nevertheless, anyone with common sense can imagine that the State Department's persistence in the present policy toward China and Russia is the best reason for the two to stick together, while a relaxed international atmosphere induced by a policy of tolerance and co-existence will most likely allow the natural divergences and differences of all nations and peoples, including those of China and Russia, to have a chance to grow and thrive. Here, basically, is the *raison d'être* of my theory of the Golden Triangle in which the three super-states will become equal partners. This means

America, although not a Communist power, can without much difficulty maneuver itself to a position as friendly and close to either of the two Communist powers as these powers are to each other.

The immediate objection to such a theory, as can be expected, is the fact that China with a population larger than Russia and the United States together may become in due course stronger than the two together. This is of course far-fetched. Besides, both the US and the USSR are so racially composed and politically federated that they can at any time combine with or absorb other people or peoples. After all there exist many other nations or states that carry considerable weight in the family of nations. China may have the largest population, but her boundary lines and ethnic characteristics are pretty well marked out and therefore more restricted in any future expansion than America and Russia. The leaders in Peking may have every reason to be concerned with the political future and economic welfare of some ten million Chinese residing in the tropical countries south of her border, but it is very doubtful if they would risk the combined opposition of the US and the USSR to incorporate the Malay people who as depicted by the Encyclopaedia Britannica, are "lazy, dishonest and immoral." On the other hand, when the pressure from the Orient becomes unbearable, it will be very easy for the United States, for instance, to combine with her great northern neighbor, Canada, and even with the mighty bloc of Western European states. There is no doubt in my mind, that the Chinese leaders, although Communists, will prove themselves worthy inheritors of Chinese wisdom of not doing to America or Russia or any other country deeds that they didn't want the State Department to do to them. China's path to greatness had been well-defined by five thousand years of peaceful coexistence with and voluntary assimilation of all her conquerors, neighboring tribes and nations insomuch so that it certainly will be out of the character of Chinese leaders, now or in the future, to upset the magnificent balance and equilibrium of the Golden Triangle.

However feasible and desirable this whole scheme seems to the author himself, we have no illusions of the strong suspicion and violent opposition to be encountered before any semblance of peaceful co-existence can be established in the wake of the Cold War. There is a large segment of Americans who have been taught by the massive and incessant anti-Communist propaganda (*almost*

brain-washed as some may say) to vociferously believe that Communism is America's implacable enemy deathly bent on destroying America or the American way of life as a necessary step in their ultimate conquest of the whole wide world. Among these people there are a good many who, being stubborn in disposition, had once made up their minds on Communism are not going to reconsider even in the face of new developments and new evidences that are overwhelming. Besides, we have to recognize the fact that in the United States today rabid anti-Communism has simply drowned out any dissenting voice pointing to the new developments and new evidences. That is why people are afraid to talk and always lose something when they do. For instance, in the election of November 1958, the Democrat mayor of Pittsburgh, David Lawrence, 73, won the governorship of the great State of Pennsylvania after taking away the candidacy from a fellow Democrat, younger mayor Richardson Dilworth of Philadelphia because the latter had publicly advocated the recognition of Red China.

Let us first examine the major objections against coexistence and a relaxation of international tension. If we are sometimes repetitious, it is only due to the need to clarify and to emphasize.

Firstly, we shall ask whether it is true that Communist governments are America's deadly enemies while Nationalist and other types of governments are not. We have been aware, of course, the long-standing practice of the State Department in arming, feeding, supplying and subsidizing all sorts of governments in the world whose heads have included militarists, army generals, mikados and dictators as well as Communist opportunist like Tito, Fascist adventurer like Franco and Princeton Frankenstein like Syngman Rhee. All these heads of government have one thing in common, that is being narrowly and extremely nationalistic like General Charles De Gaulle who constantly think of their own country first and will give hell to anything in the way whether it is the United States or the United Nations. American observers who have travelled all over the world have time and again reported that the peoples they encountered in the American-subsidized countries including Britain and France, are actually less friendly to the Americans than the people in Russia are. Mr. Nixon's goodwill tour in Latin America is an eloquent reminder. The same thing can be true even in the case of China. Despite carefully-edited reports of "how they hate us in Red China," the fact remains that American men and women have been allowed to freely

travel in all parts of Red China without suffering any indignity, injury or molestation. The real truth is that the Chinese people still hold enough goodwill toward the American people and would like very much to be friends again however fiercely they hate and resist American imperialism for its support of Chiang Kai-Shek. It is a good guess that the average people on Chiang's island of Taiwan are actually less friendly to the Americans, remembering the mob attack of the United States Embassy in Taipeh not so long ago. And what are the lessons of modern history? Without counting civil wars and revolutions in which Communists have done their best, all international wars have been started by nationalists and Fascists who are extreme nationalists.

It can be argued of course that a lesser power, however extremely nationalistic, can hardly constitute a menace to the security of the United States as a Russian or Chinese super-state. If so, it will clarify the matter by conceding that America's unswerving opposition to Russia and China is mainly because of their size and strength instead of their Communist character. Being so clarified, we can, without attacking the position on moral grounds, easily point out that, other things being equal, a Tsarist, Fascist or Nationalistic Russia or China could be even more menacing and undesirable in the American point of view. Historically, Tsarist Russia was aggressive, imperialistic and always waging or plotting wars. The present Russia or China, if veered toward Fascism or even De Gaullism, would undoubtedly become more dangerous to their neighbors and to the whole world. Just imagine, a unified and strong China with some one like Napoleon in charge would have embarked on a revanche and irredentist movement that will immediately come into conflict with all the neighboring states and leading Powers and would inevitably embroil the whole world in another holocaust like Hitler's Germany did. With the prevailing Communist form of government, on the other hand, the leaders are much more interested in the improvement of people's living standards and material welfare. Such efforts have already occupied the Communists of Russia more than forty years and will perhaps occupy those of China much longer. That is why, in spite of the darkest forecasts, the Peking Government didn't take the dare to go to war during the Quemoy crisis. Communists in Russia and China are evidently confident of their ability and the soundness of their principles and methods to accomplish wonders in their own countries, *(didn't the Chinese have already demonstrated their ability to lift the country by*

their own boot-straps?) that they do not need or covet what does not belong to them and they do not depend on war or preparation of wars to keep up production or quiet down any discontent at home. This important fact has been deliberately ignored by anti-Communists everywhere because it puts the Communists in a very favorable position in contrast to, for instance, what erstwhile anti-Communitic governments in Japan, Germany and Italy had done. Leaders and thinkers in the United States cannot afford to forget that in whipping up anti-Communism, they are indirectly breeding and abetting Fascism in the country, much of it has already been in evidence in strategic places such as the Teamsters Union.

What is stated above certainly does not mean that the Communist governments can be pushed to the brink farther than their Nationalist or Fascist counterpart. Besides, there is always the possibility in any government and any political party that the moderates can be succeeded by extremists and vice versa. At the height of the Quemoy crisis in September 1958, President Eisenhower stated in his "*no appeasement*" speech that if the Chinese Communists can be persuaded not to resort to war, the United States will strive honestly "*to remove the thorn from the flesh.*" As we know months after the passing of the Quemoy crisis, no thorns, big or small, had been removed either from the Taiwan strait or the impasse of Sino-American relations. Contrary to Eisenhower's promise, his administration had sent more arms and equipment to Chiang with the purpose of bolstering his positions in Taiwan and the Quemoy. This situation cannot have but a provoking effect on Chinese opinion and only strengthen their suspicion of America's pledged word in the future. Neither could they forget the sidewinder episode wherein these effective missiles were supplied to the Chiang pilots even as American and Chinese envoys were ready to open their talks in Warsaw. It is an interesting and revealing sidelight to note here that the Time magazine in its year-end review of the Quemoy crisis, purportedly a summary from papers prepared by US military and diplomatic agencies, took special pride to commend Chiang's pilots for their performances over Quemoy but mentioned not a single word about the sidewinders. This is, indeed, where factual reporting and propaganda draw the line. Meanwhile, it was reported that the Peking Government had developed their own sidewinders and other missiles and was preparing to shoot a rocket toward the moon.

American commentators have expressed their ridicule and bewilderment at Red China's every-other-day bombardment of the Quemoy islands. The simple truth is that the Chinese leaders do not want a war with the United States but neither do they want to give up their justifiable claims to Taiwan and the group of islands in the Taiwan strait. So, in their native Chinese style, they keep the issue alive by dropping a few shells once in a while. These are mere fire-crackers as compared to the nuclear bombs that are being developed somewhere on the mainland. Actually, the Peking Government could have taken the issue of American intervention in China's internal affairs as well as her sovereign right to territorial integrity to the International Court at Hague. In this way, they could not only have kept the issue alive, but also assigned the State Department the toughest job of defending an indefensible position. There was a good chance that the United States would lose the case as well as a few billion dollars in compensating the Chinese. The whole issue of Taiwan and Quemoy is far from dead and a big crisis may flare up again anytime. Mr. Dean Acheson had criticized the Eisenhower administration for taking an attitude that *"nothing will be done . . . during periods of quiet and nothing can be done in times of crisis. This is an attitude which ought not to be tolerated."* The truth can be even more disturbing to the American people when they realize that the Chinese are getting stronger all the time while Mr. Eisenhower practices his golf and Mr. Dulles takes his vacation. When Senator Hubert Humphrey reported his interview with Premier Khrushchev, he suggested that the latter's repeated reminding of his age (65) was probably making the point that the next man in charge of Soviet policy may not be as reasonable as he. The same can be true with Mr. Mao Tse-Tung's China.

Whatever has been said so far can be taken at least as a partial answer to the oft-repeated charge that the Communists are aiming at nothing short of world conquest and they are bent on destroying America and the American way of life. One simple but all-important fact that is usually brushed aside is: the dream of world revolution and the conspiracies of the Comintern have definitely gone with the death of Lenin and Stalin as well as the ushering in of new faces and new circumstances. If we agree on the premise that Russia and China are not identical twins, the question automatically pops up as to which Communist power is being singled out as aiming at such Hitlerite designs. If the answer points to China, we must ask what Russia would do in

that case. And vice versa. A monolithic world order rules out the possibility of co-existence of two or more super-states, Communist or otherwise. If the State Department does suspect either or both of them bent on world conquest, it certainly is the job of the diplomats to stay near both of them and probe the possibility of a new alignment in order to thwart such schemes at its outset. In fact, the emergence of Communist China has coincided with a great lessening of Comintern activities abroad. The two Communist super-states do not even see eye to eye on the question of Tito's Yugoslavia. The world certainly has less to fear from the Comintern today than during the Lenin-Stalin period. Any conquest of the world by the Communists will have to start with a conquest of America, and the conquest of America must needs have the help of a powerful American Communist Party. A dozen years of suppression by legislation, court action and massive propaganda have already left the American Communist Party in a shambles. The danger of a Communist revolution in the United States is very remote now unless as a result of a long and bitter depression or a devastating war.

It has often been said that the chief motive of Soviet design to establish Communism in America is to make the American giant a Soviet satellite. To a person of realistic thinking, it will be a stupid mistake for Soviet leaders to entertain such a dream especially in the light of their experiences with rise of the New China that competes with Russia in many ways. Rightly or wrongly, the Communists believe their system is far superior to the American system and it is this system which has worked the wonders in China and in Russia. Now, if this same system should be transplanted into the United States, would it not make the United States even stronger and a greater rival. All things considered, we can safely assume that the leaders in Moscow and Peking really cannot see any sense in risking and investing everything toward an overthrow of the American government as presently constituted except as a last resort in all-out war. Just as we had pointed out previously that a Fascist China or Russia would have been a greater menace to the world, so the Chinese and Russian leaders must have realized that the United States as it is constituted today with its two major parties and its system of checks and balances, its rivalry of big labor versus big business and many other contradictions represents a much less challenge in world leadership than an America with a single party or, worse still, with a single boss. A Fascist government in America

would have dropped its stockpile of nuclear bombs on Russia and China a few years ago when the United States was believed to be ahead of Russia in nuclear weapons.

All things considered, therefore, the peoples of the present world, Americans, Chinese, Russians and all others included, should be thankful to the fact that although it may not be the best possible world of all worlds, it certainly could be much worse. In this space age, the opportunity is wide open for the leading powers to work together and to lead mankind in a better understanding of the mysteries of life and of universe. Jealousy and suspicion of one another is just as outmoded as fetish and idolatry. The leaders and thinkers of the three super-states must first of all set a good example of mutual understanding and friendly cooperation to make the Golden Triangle an outstanding success in the general betterment of man's position on earth and in the universe. To help them achieve this noble and indispensable undertaking all they have to follow in dealing with one another is the time-honored Golden Rule in its Chinese and Western versions. The Chinese version says, "*Do not do to others what you do not want others do to you.*" If the Americans, for example, do not want the Chinese to interfere in American affairs, they should themselves refrain from interfering in Chinese affairs. The Western version says, "*Ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*" Foremost in this category belong peace, understanding and friendship. Any super-state making a practice of these rules will never perish from the earth and the Golden Triangle.

In the early part of 1959 when these words are written, there seems to be a complete lack of the sense of urgency. The atmosphere reminds more or less of the December days before Pearl Harbor. The power elite or ruling class in America is satisfied that any general war is at least six months away and may never happen. Even the parting shot from Mr. Anastas Mikoyan didn't stir up any excitement when he told the National Press Club that the alternative to friendship is war. Regardless of what the pro and con arguments may say, there is no denying that the Eisenhower administration has been drifting, dangerously drifting. It has chosen to sit tight on explosive issues like Berlin and Taiwan. It has chosen to ignore Khrushchev and Mao alike. It is simply waiting for the ominous to happen. We can hope for the best, but there are certain things we can see their coming. One of these is a state of nuclear anarchy in a world with a debating society, a

cold war and no semblance of a governing body. Besides the Anglo-Saxons and the Russians, the exclusive nuclear bomb club will soon admit a few new members. Even small nations like Israel and Greece, for instance, may have them. Suppose one of such small nations should throw a few bombs at one of the big powers. As happened before, all the big powers will be at once involved. Anyone who undertakes to worry for the future of humanity cannot fail to see that some kind of world government is an absolute necessity and urgency, and that a world triumvirate of America, Russia and China is realistic and feasible. In contrast with the Roman triumvirate of mere mortals, this one of the governments of three dynamic super-states is bound to endure. It can last forever.

PART IV

EPILOGUE

My dear readers, here are some gems of Chinese wisdom to serve as food for your thought:

Don't push your opponent too far. Don't close all the doors on him. Once you got him, leave him some exit to retire with honor. Best of all, let him be and help him get on something to occupy himself with, for instance, a seven-year plan.

A seven-year plan means two more years of respite than five. All to the good.

Why should anybody be scared stiff by the very idea that Russia may catch up in seven years and China in perhaps seventeen? Why not make it a good race? America should have a very good chance, either as the rabbit after a little nap, or the slow but steady turtle. Worst thing is to stay on the sideline and worry to death.

And, if the spectre of Chinese children give you a heart failure, well, you must be very old indeed.

So, we are capable of massive retaliation instantaneously. If they drop a load here, we vow a bigger load there. But must we think of nothing else and prepare for nothing else than mutual extinction? Would it be much better to reach for agreement, for peace, friendship and abundance for all so that we can be sure that no loads will be dropped anywhere.

Alright, let us suppose the world will survive another holocaust yet. Part of the humanity will be allowed to stay out of it. But probably no Americans, no Russians, very few West Europeans and no more than a half of the Chinese. But why do you want to see all these peoples, the best you can find on earth, to be destroyed by one insane push of the button? Why do you hate yourself so much? Your family, your neighbors and friends? And why should the Russians be the most-hated? What did they ever do to you? Didn't they start the World Wars in Europe, Asia or Pearl Har-

bour? Why are you rearming the Germans and the Japanese? Have the Chinese got naything to attack America?

Frankly, I think you need a good doctor and a good psychiatrist.

In January 1958, Mr. Bulganin, as Russia's premier, proposed a summit meeting. Mr. Dulles vetoed it. In January 1959, Mr Khrushchev sent Mr. Mikoyan along to seek, at the least, a chance to increase trade. Mr. Dulles vetoed it again.

What great personages in history are we reminded of? Bismarck? Metetrnich? Are these United States going to follow the path of Prussia? Or Austria-Hungary?

Democracy certainly does not mean a one-man show. Where is the rest of America?

Oh, America, when you were young, you had fire in your ideas that inspired thinking persons everywhere. The young generations the world over used to worship your very name. Now, must they leave you like a sinking ship?

Why shouldn't you grow in greatness and mature with wisdom?

Why should you become old so soon? Quarrelsome and vindictive, senile and stubborn?

Oh, America, it is not yet too late!

(the end)

\$1.00

P. O. BOX 7354
PHILADELPHIA 1, PA.

Routing Slip
FD-4 (8-18-54)

Date 3/20/59

To

☒ Director

Att. Central Research
Section

file
FILE # BU 62-46855
PH 105-4394

Title "THE U.S. GOT RED CHINA"

☐ SAC

ALL WRONG; BOOK REVIEWS

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Reassign to

☐ Initial & return

☐ Open Case

☐ Send Serials

☐ Search & return

☐ Expedite

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Correct

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Call me

☐ Submit report by

☐ Return serials

☐ See me

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Type

☐ Submit new charge-out

☐ Bring file

☐ File

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Delinquent

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken

NOT RECORDED

Re your letter, 3/4/59.

11 MAR 31 1959

Enclosed herewith is one copy of captioned booklet

ENCLOSURE

SAC C. E. HENNRICH

Office Philadelphia

57 APR 3 1959

CENTRAL RESEARCH

11
essw
REC- 25

62-46855-15

March 30, 1959

EX-135

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b7c

Mr. Del Christy
Suite 543
Washington Trust Building
Washington, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Christy:

I am indeed sorry that I was unable to see Mrs. Christy and you during your recent visit to FBI Headquarters.

Special Agent [redacted] with whom you talked, has advised me of your favorable comments regarding the FBI and my administration of its activities, and I am very grateful. In addition, I have seen the volume, "Story Telling Time," which you left. Your interest and concern for the welfare of the American youth are most encouraging. While I would like to comply with your request, as a matter of policy, I must refrain from making any comments on the volume along the lines you suggested. I know you can understand my position in this regard. The volume is being returned to you under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

1 - Mr. Jones (USC MATERIAL)
Volume, "Story Telling Time" left at Bureau by Mr. Christy

NOTE: See Jones to DeLoach memo dated 3/24/59. CBF:cag

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DeLoach _____
McGuire _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Sullivan _____
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Tele. Rm. _____

CBF:cag
(5)

62 APR 8 1959

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RECEIVED
B I
7 22 PM '59

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: March 24, 1959

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: MR. AND MRS. DEL CHRISTY
ADVERTISING CONSULTANT
SUITE 543
WASHINGTON TRUST BUILDING
WASHINGTON, PENNSYLVANIA

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
DeLoach _____
McGuire _____
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Rosen _____
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W.C. Sullivan _____
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Gandy _____

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b7c

The above-captioned individuals were interviewed by SA [redacted] upon referral from the Director's Office on March 23, 1959. Mr. Christy advised that he is an advertising consultant in Washington, Pennsylvania and that he has written a series of stories slanted for children to be read to children by their parents. He stated he had spent several years completing the series which was illustrated by Yolanda Lengyel.

The complete volume is entitled "Story Telling Time." Mr. Christy explained that it was his hope that he would be able to see the Director briefly just to say hello and leave the series of stories with him so that Mr. Hoover could review the stories. He informed that he and Mrs. Christy would be in Washington, D. C., for a few days, and it is their hope that the Director may have a moment to see them. It was explained to the Christys that the Director was not in and that no encouragement could be given them regarding a meet with Mr. Hoover due to the extremely heavy schedule and the great number of urgent matters confronting him. In addition, it was pointed out to Mr. Christy that due to the great number of similar requests he received and in view of his position as Director of a Federal investigative agency, it has been necessary for Mr. Hoover to adopt a policy of declining to comment, offer opinions or suggestions regarding such articles.

They desired to leave the volume and requested that it be brought to the Director's attention. It is noted that Mr. and Mrs. Christy appeared to be very personable, high type individuals and their admiration of the Director and the FBI was sincere. While in Washington, D. C., they are stopping at the South Gate Motel in Arlington, Virginia.

Bufiles do not reflect any information identifiable with the Christys or with the artist Yolanda Lengyel. A cursory review of the stories indicate they are fairly well written; however, they are in the first person and depict in some respect the childhood life of Mr. Christy. The series is self serving and quite obviously fictitious to a great extent. The volume is attached for information. 1959

Enclosure

(Continued next page)

CBF:cag (3)

4242

Jones to DeLoach memorandum

In view of the Director's heavy schedule, it is believed he should not take time to see the Christys. If you agree, Christy will be contacted by SA [] the Director's regrets will be expressed and the brochure of stories will be returned to him.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That the Director not take time from his busy schedule to grant the Christys request for an interview.

DHW

(2) That the brochure of stories be returned to Mr. Christy and the Director's regrets expressed.

*ERL
3/24*

[initials]

[initials]

DHW

GHK

ADDENDUM:

An attempt was made to contact Mr. Christy at the South Gate Motel on 3-25 without success. He was reached on the afternoon of 3-26 and advised of the Director's inability to meet with him for a few minutes. The Director's regrets were expressed. Mr. Christy had hoped that Mr. Hoover would be able to comment on his volume of stories for children. He stated it would be appreciated if the volume could be mailed to him at his home address inasmuch as he would not be coming back downtown to Washington. He was informed that this would be done. It is noted the Christys were planning to do further traveling before returning to their home at Washington, Pennsylvania/ CBR/

[initials]

Director, FBI (105-76293)

3/23/59

SAC, Philadelphia (105-4394)

"THE U.S. GOT RED CHINA ALL
WHOM?" CHINESE PUBLICATION
IS - CH

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b7C

Re New York letter to Director, 2/27/59 captioned
"UNSUB; Post Office Box [redacted] Philadelphia, Pa.; IS - CH;"
Bureau letter to Philadelphia, 3/4/59, captioned "THE U.S.
GOT RED CHINA ALL WHOM?" "BOOK REVIEWS," Bureau file 62-46855,
and Bureau letter to Newark, 3/17/59 captioned as above.

Re New York letter requested identity of individuals
offering captioned publication for sale at Post Office Box
[redacted] Philadelphia.

On 2/26/59 [redacted] Clerk, U. S.
Postal Inspectors Office, Philadelphia, advised SA [redacted]
that Post Office Box [redacted] was rented out on 2/12/59
by [redacted] in care of [redacted]
[redacted] Philadelphia. His references were given as
[redacted] and [redacted]

Examination of the cross-reference telephone
directories reflected that [redacted] and both references are
in the florist business in Philadelphia.

On 3/2/59 a spot check of the [redacted]
[redacted] by SA [redacted] failed to
reflect any Chinese individuals working therein.

The files of the Philadelphia Credit Bureau, Inc.,
and the Philadelphia Police Department were checked on 3/3/59
by IC [redacted] on [redacted] with negative results.

On 3/2/59 the records of IRS, Philadelphia, were
checked by SE [redacted] but no record for [redacted] could
be located.

- 2 - Bureau (105-76293)
1 - Newark (Info.)
1 - New York (105-34425) (Info.)
2 - Philadelphia
1 - 105-4394
1 - 105-10341 [redacted]

162-46855-
NOT RECORDED
175 MAR 26 1959

54 MAR 20 1959
FBI - NEW YORK

105-76293-5
ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-76293-5

PH 105-4394

Information contained in this booklet about the author reflected that he was born and raised in China, educated in an American missionary college in Shanghai, and worked for the Chiang Kai-Shek Government for a few years during the Sino-Japanese War. The article reflected that he had traveled extensively in China, Southeast Asia, and Europe as a journalist and writer and has resided in the United States for the past 18 years.

Examination of the Philadelphia files reflected that [] may be identical with [] and the same individual referred to in report of SA [] at Philadelphia dated 10/24/42 captioned [] was: [] INTERNAL SECURITY - X." Analysis of this file reflects background information on subject similar to that furnished in captioned booklet. Chinese Translator [] of the Philadelphia Office advised that based upon similarity of names, it is very likely that [] is identical with []

Philadelphia files contained no information on the Quire Printing Company or (FNU) []

In accordance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter, the Central Research Section was forwarded a copy of "The U. S. Got Red China All Wrong."

2

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: April 6, 1959

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEW THE CASE OF THE SLEEPING PEOPLE
BY DR. DALE ALFORD, CONGRESSMAN FROM ARKANSAS,
AND HIS WIFE, L'MOORE ALFORD
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 DeLoach _____
 McGuire _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:

In The Case of the Sleeping People, Dr. Dale Alford is portrayed as a patriot who selflessly stepped forward to champion the cause of segregation at a time when he believed the Federal Government was illegally forcing racial integration in Little Rock, Arkansas, schools. He describes Little Rock as the battleground where democracy is pitted against dictatorship of the Federal judiciary. Among causative factors contributing to the integration crises, the authors name "Warren-dominated" Supreme Court, which is charged with being influenced by foreign social-economic philosophy and by an "international conspiracy" which seeks to divide the South and destroy our country from within. Neither the FBI nor our investigation of the Hays-Alford election is discussed. The Director is mentioned only in connection with Masters of Deceit, from which quotations are cited by Dr. Alford. (pp. 78, 117)

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. For the information of the Director.
2. That the enclosed copy of The Case of the Sleeping People be returned to the Bureau Library when this memorandum has served its purpose.

Enclosure

WEO:ela (9)

1 - Section tickler

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Rosen (attn: [redacted])

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - [redacted]

1 - [redacted]

1 - 62-105195 (Dale Alford)

REC-77 62-46855-16
 CENTRAL RESEARCH
 2 APR 30 1959

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 b7c

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-105195-16

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

RE: BOOK REVIEW-THE CASE OF THE SLEEPING PEOPLE
BY DR. DALE ALFORD, CONGRESSMAN FROM ARKANSAS,
AND HIS WIFE, L'MOORE ALFORD

The Critical Congressman Writes

When Congressman Dale Alford (D-Arkansas) delivered his vitriolic attack on the FBI and the Department of Justice from the floor of the House of Representatives on February 11, 1959, he mentioned a book which he and his wife had written about the "occupation" of Little Rock by Federal troops and about how the present Attorney General had set himself and his Department against the constitutional rights of free Americans. Mrs. Alford delivered a copy of the book to the Bureau on March 20, and it has been reviewed in the Central Research Section pursuant to the request of Mr. DeLoach. (Memo Mr. DeLoach to Mr. Tolson, dated 3/24/59)

Segregation-A Patriotic Cause

The Case of the Sleeping People, by Dale and L'Moore Alford, 142 pp., is an apology for the stand taken by Dr. Dale Alford during the Little Rock school integration crisis of 1957 and during his successful campaign for Congress in 1958. As an outspoken segregationist member of the Little Rock School Board, Alford opposed the majority of the board in its short-lived effort to integrate local high schools. After a special election in September, 1958, indicated Little Rock voters' support for school segregation by a 3-to-1 margin, Alford stepped forward to declare himself a write-in candidate for the congressional seat which had been occupied by "moderate" Brooks Hays for 18 years. Alford's successful eight-day whirlwind campaign was based solely on the school segregation issue. His victory over the "moderates" is portrayed in The Case of the Sleeping People as vindication of the Alford theme-namely, that the fight to maintain segregation in the South is a patriotic cause, one which pits the concept of popular democracy against the dictatorship of the Federal judiciary.

Democracy vs. Judicial Oligarchy

In developing their theme, the Alfords point to the use of Federal troops and the action of the Justice Department in implementing Supreme Court decisions as illegal and unconstitutional Federal interferences with States' rights. As causative factors behind the judicial decisions and the

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

RE: BOOK REVIEW-THE CASE OF THE SLEEPING PEOPLE
BY DR. DALE ALFORD, CONGRESSMAN FROM ARKANSAS,
AND HIS WIFE, L'MOORE ALFORD

organized efforts to bring about integration in the public schools, Alford's campaign speeches charge that the "Warren-dominated" Supreme Court was influenced in its school-desegregation decisions by foreign social-economist Gunnar Myrdal and that the mass agitation for immediate integration results from an "international conspiracy" which seeks to divide the South and to destroy the Nation from within. There is no specific development of the Alford theory that an international conspiracy is responsible for race agitation in Arkansas or any other place, but he brings communism into the picture by quoting directly from the Director's book, Masters of Deceit. (The Case of the Sleeping People, p. 78)

References to Masters of Deceit

The impact of Masters of Deceit on the Alfords is apparent throughout their book. For example, when describing the moment of decision in which her physician husband elected to abandon his medical practice in order to run for Congress, Mrs. Alford wrote as follows: "Pointing to the book, Masters of Deceit, by J. Edgar Hoover, he (Dr. Alford) said, 'Remember that our enemies and their dupes and the skeptics will do everything they can think of to stop our solving this mystery and bringing out the TRUTH.' " (ibid., p. 92) The book contains several additional references to Masters of Deceit, and quotations from it were credited in the acknowledgments. One reference to Masters of Deceit which appeared in Dr. Alford's televised speech just prior to the Little Rock election on the integration issue in September, 1958, is quoted as follows: "This is no longer a so-called Southern problem, so my appeal is to all America to wake up before the 'Masters of Deceit' succeed in placing the 'Trojan horse of Communism' in our midst through the guise of integration. " (p. 72) Other direct quotations are used to illustrate the need for education in democracy in order to overcome communism. (pp. 78, 117) It is noted that Dr. Alford, in one of his speeches, used a direct quotation from Masters of Deceit without reference to its source. (p. 117) This is a portion of the same quotation regarding the need for education in democracy, referred to above, which was properly credited in the text on page 78. The FBI is not discussed at any place in the text, and there is no mention of the FBI investigation to determine whether election laws were violated in the Alford campaign last fall. There is, however, indication that there was congressional controversy over the seating of Alford as the Democratic Representative from the Fifth District of Arkansas.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

RE: BOOK REVIEW-THE CASE OF THE SLEEPING PEOPLE
BY DR. DALE ALFORD, CONGRESSMAN FROM ARKANSAS,
AND HIS WIFE, L'MOORE ALFORD

Evaluation

The Case of the Sleeping People succeeds only in making the point that the Alfords look upon the integration problem in Little Rock, Arkansas, as the crucial issue which will decide the future of States' rights in America and that Dale Alford has come forward at great personal sacrifice to act as a patriotic spokesman against the impending threat of Federal dictatorship. There have been more penetrative and persuasive writings which treat the integration problem. In this book, the reasoning underlying the Alfords' stand has been only superficially exposed.

1 - Yellow

1 - Section tickler
1 -
1 - J.S. Johnson
2 - Orig & copy

SAC, New York

April 27, 1959

b6
b7c

Director, FBI (62-46855)

"FOR THE SKEPTIC"
COMPILED BY LYLE H. MUNSON
BOOK REVIEWS
CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

The April 24, 1959, issue (page 13) of the New York Journal-American carried information that captioned book is to be published May 1, 1959. The book will be available through The Bookmailer, Inc., Box 101, Murray Hill Station, New York 16, New York, for \$3.

You should expeditiously and discreetly obtain one copy of captioned book, when available, and immediately forward it to the Bureau, attention Central Research Section.

AMB:lm
(6)

*one copy of book
sent to
Bureau
Book Review
Section*

A

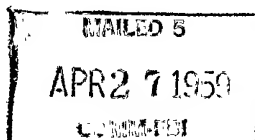
NOTE:

On newspaper clipping concerning captioned book, the Director noted: "We should take a look at this book. H."

REC-32

62-46855-17

11 APR 28 1959



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McGuire _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
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Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

66 APR 30 1959

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*nd
Amb*

Mr. DeLoach

3-26-59

M. A. Jones

JM

"THE UNDERWORLD OF SEX"
BY HUBERT J. BADEAUX

SYNOPSIS:

O Reviews

Captioned book forwarded to Mr. DeLoach anonymously. Book unbound, privately printed, distributed through Herald Press, Inc., New Orleans, Louisiana. It is identified as advance edition for restricted circulation only, and as "A Documented Account of Organized Sexual Degeneracy." Printed in 1959. Book opens with quotation in preface from Director's speech before American Legion National Convention 9-19-57, which pertains to peddlers of obscene pictures and writings which have flooded the nation, and need for an aroused public to stop flow of obscene literature, as well as necessity for longer sentences and heavier fines against purveyors. Preface ends by repeating part of quotation relative to aroused public being necessary, and Badeaux adds people must also not countenance any attempts to prevent it from being aroused. In Chapter 18, Badeaux reproduces some letters pertaining to his investigation in New Orleans, Louisiana, into organized degeneracy when he was a sergeant on police force. On Page 271 there is a letter from Senator Allen J. Ellender to president, Greater Gentilly Civic Council, Inc., New Orleans, to effect Ellender referring council's request for Federal assistance to FBI. On Page 273 a letter from Director to Senator Ellender dated 2-21-58 is reproduced advising our New Orleans Office developed information that activities of certain members of nudist camp were being investigated by New Orleans Police Department, and State District Attorney's office in New Orleans, and U. S. Postal Inspectors. Director's letter stated Ellender's letter being forwarded to Chief Postal Inspector. On Page 272 Badeaux states that police investigation into activities of nudist camp referred to by Director was nothing more than an attempt by New Orleans Police Department to hide existence of international degeneracy ring. He adds he furnished FBI in New Orleans clear evidence of international degeneracy and perhaps it was forwarded to Director and perhaps not. He says, "At any rate, a short time after Mr. Hoover wrote the letter to Senator Ellender, the Agent in Charge of the New Orleans Office of the FBI announced his retirement." Badeaux states that contrary to what Mr. Hoover said, State District Attorney's office in New Orleans conducted no investigation.

Despite Badeaux's claim that State District Attorney's office had not entered investigation, our New Orleans Office advised by airtel 3-5-59 that

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. DeLoach

① Bufile 62-46855

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(5)

62-46855-

APR 22 1959

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

chief investigator for State District Attorney's office had injected himself into the investigation and was being assisted by Sgt. Badeaux. As a result of information developed that members of nudist movement in New Orleans and elsewhere have transported wives interstate for "wife-swapping parties," New Orleans Office advised by airtel 10-15-58 that White Slave Traffic Act case had been opened. This investigation still pending (31-86928) although numerous U. S. Attorneys have declined prosecution.

Badeaux devoted part of book to Guy Banister, former FBI SAC, who assigned Badeaux to investigate organized degeneracy in 1956, when Banister was Assistant Superintendent of New Orleans Police Department. He indicates he only trusted Banister because of corruption in New Orleans Police Department and when Banister was dismissed "after it was charged that Banister, a high-ranking police official, had capriciously drawn his revolver in a public place," Badeaux's investigation bogged down and this was the first in a series of unfortunate incidents which blocked investigation of organized degeneracy. Primary target of Badeaux's investigation into nudism and its allied degenerate activities is one Louis Stewart, who was the primary subject in Bureau White Slave Traffic Act investigation. On 12-22-58 Stewart pleaded guilty in U. S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana, to two counts of sending obscene matter through the mail and was sentenced to 18 months in custody of Attorney General on each count to run concurrently. This investigation handled by postal authorities. This matter has been followed in Crime Research Section since 7-30-58 as research matter in connection with our sex offender file.

Badeaux's book has two main themes, one pertaining to corruption in New Orleans Police Department and city government and the other to a far-reaching ring of sexual degenerates which has its roots in nudist colonies, primarily the Three Lakes Nudist Camp in Louisiana. Badeaux was sergeant on police force New Orleans and resigned in 1958 after public officials allegedly thwarted his efforts to uncover organized sexual degeneracy because some of higher-ups in community were involved. He castigates Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison who allegedly purposely overlooked the sexual degeneracy situation, although his political success was based on a "clean government" campaign. Badeaux refers to New Orleans Superintendent of Police Provosty A. Dayries as inept and bungling, and tells of administration which constantly threw obstacles in the path of the organized sexual degeneracy investigation.

The book spares little in its description of the sexual orgies and there are reproduced photographs, letters, sex orgy club applications, etc., which in themselves make Badeaux's book an obscene publication.

Jones to DeLoach memorandum

Bufiles reflect Badeaux, as Agent in Charge of Division of Intelligence Affairs, New Orleans Police Department, was in charge of Communist Party investigations in that city, and has testified before committees on communism. He has also testified that National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a Communist Party pawn, and is an outspoken segregationist. Chapter by chapter summary of book attached.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That this book be discussed informally with postal authorities by the Liaison Section relative to its apparent obscenity and transmittal through the mails.

(2) If approved, our New Orleans Office will be instructed to contact Badeaux and set him straight regarding our SAC's transfer from New Orleans and the fact that this matter was reported to the Bureau by our New Orleans Office and appropriate attention is being given to it.

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

DETAILS

BACKGROUND

"The Underworld of Sex," by Hubert J. Badeaux, was forwarded to Mr. DeLoach anonymously. The book is unbound and is privately printed, distributed through the Herald Press, Inc., New Orleans, Louisiana. It is identified as an advance edition, for restricted circulation only. It is further identified as "A Documented Account of Organized Sexual Degeneracy." It was printed in 1959.

GENERAL OUTLINE AND OBSERVATIONS

The book opens with a quotation in the preface from the Director's speech before the National Convention of the American Legion on September 19, 1957, which pertains to the peddlers of obscene pictures and writings which have flooded this nation, and the need for an aroused public to stop the flow of obscene literature, as well as the necessity for longer sentences and heavier fines against the purveyors of such material. The preface ends by repeating a part of the quotation relative to an aroused public being necessary, and Badeaux adds that the people must also not countenance any attempts to prevent it from being aroused.

This book has two main themes, one pertaining to corruption in the New Orleans Police Department and city government and the other to a far-reaching ring of sexual degenerates, which has its roots in nudist colonies, primarily the Three Lakes Nudist Camp. Badeaux was a sergeant on the police force in New Orleans and resigned in 1958 after public officials allegedly thwarted his efforts to uncover organized sexual degeneracy, because some of the higher-ups in the community were involved. He castigates primarily Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison, who allegedly purposely overlooked the sexual degeneracy situation even though his political success was based on a "clean government" campaign. Badeaux refers to the Superintendent of Police, Provosty A. Dayries, as inept and bungling, and told of the administration who constantly threw obstacles in the path of the organized sexual degeneracy investigation.

Badeaux's investigation primarily involved the Three Lakes Nudist Camp, which he claims is the center of sexual degeneracy in the New Orleans area. He further believes that the international nudist movement is nothing but a cover-up for unspeakable sexual activities between its members, sometimes reaching nationwide proportions through "wife-swapping parties." The primary target of Badeaux's investigation into nudism and its allied degenerate activities is one Louis Stewart, and he is the primary subject in an investigation opened by the Bureau under the White Slave Traffic Act classification in October, 1958. This investigation by the Bureau is still pending

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

although numerous U. S. Attorneys declined prosecution. On December 22, 1958, Stewart pleaded guilty in United States District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana, to two counts of sending obscene matter through the mail, and was sentenced to 18 months in the custody of the Attorney General on each count to run concurrently. This investigation was handled by postal authorities. This matter has been followed in the Crime Research Section since July 30, 1958, as a research matter in connection with our sex offender file, because of the alleged degeneracy involving interstate travel on a national basis for immoral purposes.

REFERENCES OF INTEREST TO FBI

In Chapter 19, Badeaux reproduces some letters pertaining to his investigation in New Orleans, Louisiana, as a sergeant on the police force into organized degeneracy. On Page 271 a letter appears from Senator Allen J. Ellender to the president of the Greater Gentilly Civic Council, Inc., of New Orleans, to the effect that he is referring its request for Federal assistance to the FBI. On Page 273, a letter from the Director to Senator Ellender dated 2-21-58, is reproduced, advising that our New Orleans Office developed information that the activities of certain members of the Three Lakes Nudist Camp were being investigated by the New Orleans Police Department, the State District Attorney's Office in New Orleans, and the U. S. Postal Inspectors in New Orleans. The Director's letter informed Senator Ellender that a copy of his letter and its enclosures were forwarded to the Chief Postal Inspector.

On Page 272, Badeaux writes that the investigation into the activities of certain members of the Three Lakes Nudist Camp referred to by Mr. Hoover was nothing more than an attempt by the New Orleans Police Department to hide the existence of the international degeneracy ring. He adds he furnished the FBI in New Orleans with clear evidence of the international degeneracy ring and that perhaps it was forwarded to Mr. Hoover and perhaps it was not. He then says, "At any rate, a short time after Mr. Hoover wrote the letter to Senator Ellender, the Agent in Charge of the New Orleans Office of the FBI announced his retirement." Badeaux also stated that contrary to what Mr. Hoover stated, the State District Attorney's office in New Orleans conducted no investigation.

Despite Badeaux's claim that the State District Attorney's office had not entered the investigation, our New Orleans Office advised by airtel dated 8-5-58 that the chief investigator for the State District Attorney's office, John J. Grosch, had injected himself into the investigation and was being assisted by Sgt. Badeaux.

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

As a result of information being developed that members of the nudist movement in New Orleans and elsewhere had transported their wives interstate for "wife-swapping parties," the New Orleans Office advised by airtel dated 10-15-58 that a White Slave Traffic Act case had been opened. This investigation is still pending (Bufile 31-86928), although numerous U. S. Attorneys have declined prosecution.

Badeaux also devoted part of his book to Guy Banister, former FBI SAC. He stated that he was assigned to investigate organized degeneracy in 1956 by Banister, who was then Assistant Superintendent of the New Orleans Police Department. He indicates that he only trusted Banister, and Chapter 2 states Banister was dismissed from the New Orleans Police Department "after it was charged that Banister, a high-ranking police official, had capriciously drawn his revolver in a public place." Badeaux indicates Banister's dismissal was the first blow in a series of unfortunate incidents which blocked his investigation of organized degeneracy.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

PREFACE

After quoting the Director regarding obscene literature, Badeaux stated that for two years while an employee of the New Orleans Police Department he investigated organized sexual degeneracy. His conclusion was that organized nudism is a menace to the moral structure of America and that nudism has deceived many into forwarding a nefarious aim which is to reduce human beings to the status of beasts. Badeaux remarked, however, that a week after linking the nudist movement to widespread sexual degeneracy he became the target of such abuse and harassment from official sources that he was compelled ultimately to resign from the police department. His evidence was suppressed, newspapers maintained an editorial silence, clergymen pretended not to know what the furor was about, and a huge gambling probe was undertaken to outshine his investigation. He claims that sexual degeneracy was being practiced by some of the nicer element in the seclusion of their nice homes, which is the reason why his investigation became bogged down.

PROLOGUE

This deals with the election of deLesseps S. Morrison as mayor of New Orleans on a clean government campaign, and the fact that actually the city government did nothing to clean up the city. It also attacks Provosty A.

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

Dayries, who "came to the Department sufficiently bereft of knowledge and qualifications in police work to insure his complete dependence on someone else in making decisions." Dayries is described as a tool for Mayor Morrison.

CHAPTER 1

Badeaux discusses how his investigation got under way in 1956 at the direction of Mr. Guy Banister, then Assistant Superintendent of the New Orleans Police Department. The investigation was to cover sexual degeneracy, sexual misbehavior, sex crimes and pornography in general to determine whether there was any pattern or organization. He stated that just as the investigation began to uncover what they were seeking, Banister was dismissed from the police department.

CHAPTER 2

Badeaux refers briefly to the dismissal of Banister from the police department and states that the police department information office gave out misleading data to the press concerning the charge of the pistol-drawing incident in a public place. He states this misleading data reflected unfavorably on Banister. He states that Banister insisted that he continue his investigation, but that officialdom constantly thwarted his efforts.

CHAPTER 3

In this chapter Badeaux continues the discussion of how his efforts were thwarted by high officials and how he finally presented some of his evidence before a grand jury. He stated that the grand jury went out of office before he could make any complete and substantial case.

CHAPTER 4

Badeaux here deals with his efforts to place an undercover agent in a nudist colony and his final decision to use his brother, Don Badeaux, as this agent, when others of low moral character were too eager to infiltrate the nudist movement. He remarks, however, that his brother was completely taken in by the nudists at the Three Lakes group and did not consider them to be immoral persons.

CHAPTER 5

Badeaux takes up further the fact that his brother is hoodwinked by the nudists and states that while his investigation revealed that one Louis

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

Stewart was the ringleader in sexual orgies, his brother actually defended Stewart as being an upright individual. Badeaux manages to obtain possession of a large collection of pornography which belonged to Stewart.

CHAPTER 6

This chapter continues with the fact that Badeaux's brother refuses to believe Stewart is an immoral person, and Badeaux's efforts to obtain pornographic material which was in Stewart's possession.

CHAPTER 7

This chapter deals with the philosophy of nudism and its international aspects as well as its efforts to cloak its immorality through a connection with religion.

CHAPTER 8

Badeaux attempts to identify nudism as a subtle facet of Marxian revolutionary tactics. He points out that Christian religion and its concomitant, the sacredness of family life, are repugnant to the communists, and that nudism is the most effective onslaught yet devised against the married state and family life. He points out that nudist propaganda is nearly as effective as communist propaganda.

CHAPTER 9

This chapter deals with how nudists attempt to inject religion into their cult in an effort to make their activities righteous, and further goes into the philosophy of the nudist movement and the beauty and sanctity of the human body.

CHAPTER 10

This pertains to the record of Louis Stewart as an outstanding example of the exaggerated claims of nudists to propriety. Badeaux states that in 1939, as a young boy, Stewart was convicted of the crime of robbery in Virginia, and sentenced to the penitentiary for 20 years. In 1940 he received a conditional pardon contingent upon his being removed to the Virginia Industrial School for Boys. In October, 1941, he was released from penal custody by a conditional pardon from Virginia's governor. The chapter also contains reproductions of

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

applications from persons recruited into nudism by Stewart. The remainder of the chapter deals with the bizarre and disgusting activities of some of the nudists in various sexual orgies.

CHAPTER 11

This chapter pertains to the arrest of Stewart by Badeaux and the revealing of his true immorality to the brother, Don Badeaux, who until this revelation had protected Stewart.

CHAPTER 12

This chapter is a reproduction of some of the evidence which Badeaux obtained and while he states that much of it is too revolting to be reproduced, that which he uses is extremely disgusting, reflecting the letters written back and forth between wife-swappers, showing sexual adherence as well as masochistic orgies. He reproduces some photographs of nudes and seminudes, as well as former applications filled out by persons for entry into the basest kind of sex clubs.

CHAPTER 13

This chapter deals with pornography, which is used by the nudists to stimulate themselves and to induce others to join the movement. This chapter shows they have complete contempt for God, religion, and normal sexual relationships.

CHAPTER 13

(Badeaux has two Chapter 13's, obviously an error)

This chapter deals with some of the disgusting activities of the degenerates, and Badeaux quotes them in their descriptions of some of their experiences. He also reproduces applications for entry into sexual degeneracy rings or clubs.

CHAPTER 15

This chapter contains further correspondence between wife-swappers and their immoral sexual activities.

CHAPTER 16

This deals further with the efforts of the officials to suppress the evidence Badeaux had obtained.

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

CHAPTER 17

Chapter 17 deals with the fact that some allegedly unscrupulous authorities tried to suppress Badeaux's activities by revealing that his brother was a member of the nudist camp, and takes up an arrest by Badeaux and other officers in Okaloosa County, Florida.

CHAPTER 18

This chapter deals further with Badeaux's alleged troubles with his superiors, who attempted to suppress his information, and the fact that Police Superintendent Dayries became highly incensed because of all of the publicity which went to Badeaux as a result of the breaking up of the sex ring. Badeaux resigned from the Department.

CHAPTER 19

Chapter 19, as set forth before, deals with the fact that Badeaux did receive recognition from some quarters, and reproduces some letters pertaining to his activities. As set forth previously, one of these is a letter from the Director to the Greater Gentilly Civic Council.

CHAPTER 20

Chapter 20 deals further with Badeaux's resignation and the fact that he was called before the grand jury to testify, but he doesn't go into what his testimony involved. Chapter 20 pertains to a write-up of the results of the investigation.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES RE HUBERT J. BADEAUX

Bufiles reflect that as Agent in Charge of the Division of Intelligence Affairs, New Orleans Police Department, Badeaux was in charge of Communist Party investigations in that city. On March 9, 1957, he testified before the Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation, State of Louisiana, and stated he had thousands of documents to back up the charge of the Communist Party's infiltration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); that communist leaders stated the Communist Party pledged to resolutely defend the NAACP. He stated the Communist Party was active in Louisiana and there was some activity in Baton Rouge. He testified the communists would infiltrate the Catholic church. He suggested the formation of a statewide "red-hunting group, to supplement the FBI, probably as part of the state police." (62-103863)

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

The May 7, 1957, edition of the New Orleans, Louisiana, Item, reported that in addressing a meeting held by the Jackson Citizens' Council and the American Legion, Badeaux claimed that the NAACP was one of the first pawns of the communists. (62-101087-21-A) On April 6, 1956, Badeaux testified before the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States at New Orleans, relative to papers and personal affects belonging to Hunter Pitts O'Dell, which were seized by the New Orleans Police Department. (62-88217-1901) On May 6, 1957, Badeaux reportedly appeared before the Jackson (Mississippi) Citizens' Council and discussed tactics of communist subversion. (105-34237-33) On May 10, 1957, Badeaux wrote the Director thanking him for sending him a Uniform Crime Reports bulletin in response to his request of April 13, 1957, and for the Bureau's arranging to send future issues of the report to him. He is not now on the Uniform Crime Reports bulletin mailing list. (33-1-19811)



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
The American Embassy
Rome, Italy

Date: April 2, 1959
To: Director, FBI
From: Legat, Rome (94-2)
Subject: "THE FBI STORY"
PUBLICITY

Book Reviews

Attached hereto is an article which appeared in the Rome daily newspaper "LA VOCE REPUBBLICANA" on 3/12/59. The article, which is captioned "The Story of the FBI," is a book review of Don Whitehead's book "The FBI Story."

Although the review does not appear to be too well written, comments about the Bureau and the book are favorable.

Also attached for the Bureau's information is a free translation of the article.

Enclosures (6)

AAC:mpd (4)

cc to Rome

(5)

~~ENCLOSURE~~

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62-102693-712

63 APR 14 1959

MR. TOLSON

March 12, 1959

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esa
C. D. DELOACH

"REDEDICATION TO FREEDOM"
BOOK BY BENJAMIN GINZBURG

Irving Ferman has given me an advance copy of captioned book. He states there is criticism of the Director and the Bureau in this book. The book is copyrighted "1959, published by Simon and Schuster, Incorporated."

ACTION: Book Reviews

It is suggested Mr. Sullivan's section, the Central Research Section, review this book for matters of interest pertaining to the FBI. The book should be returned to my office after review.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan ✓
- 1 - Mr. Jones

CDD:ejp
(5)

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100-419026-3
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50 APR 15 1959

Mr. A. H. Belmont

March 20, 1959

S.T.
esa
Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Book Reviews

"REDEDICATION TO FREEDOM"

By Benjamin Ginzburg

CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

Captioned book reviewed by Central Research Section. It strongly attacks all loyalty-security programs, includes numerous critical references to the Bureau and the Director, and parallels views of Cook's article in "The Nation" in October, 1958. Ginzburg claims that public has now been conditioned to accept continued existence of "antilibertarian institutions" (congressional investigating committees, prosecution of individuals for their political views, and loyalty-security programs). He deplores expansion of loyalty-security programs and claims that rights of communists cannot be abridged without undermining rights of all citizens. Alleges that spurious communist menace was created by Dies Committee in 1930's as part of Dies' efforts to discredit the New Deal. Postwar revelations of communist espionage lent further credence to the myth of the menace of communism. When loyalty program of Truman Administration was promulgated, the communist menace was, in effect, established by law. Ginzburg argues that loyalty-security programs are not effective in keeping spies out of Government, and he calls for their immediate and complete elimination and for a return to the Bill of Rights. Ginzburg born 2-15-98 in Russia and holds degrees from Columbia and Harvard. From 1955 to 1957 employed as research director for Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. Investigations of Ginzburg by Bureau in 1942, 1951, and 1955 developed information that he is considered a "progressive," a "left winger," and an evolutionary, as opposed to a revolutionary, Marxist. Declared "eligible on loyalty" by Civil Service Commission in 1951. Ginzburg announced as one of contributors to October, 1958, issue of Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) publication "Rights" which was to have dealt exclusively with FBI but which was not published.

100-419026

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information. The book is enclosed for return to Inspector DeLoach in accordance with his request.

Enclosure

JFC:aml

(8)

1-Section tickler

1-J. F. Condon

1-Mr. Belmont

1-Mr. DeLoach

1-

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1-62-46855

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Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "Rededication to Freedom"

DETAILS

By memorandum to Mr. Tolson dated March 12, 1959, Inspector DeLoach advised that Irving Ferman had furnished an advance copy of Ginzburg's book and recommended that it be reviewed by the Central Research Section.

The "Antilibertarian Institutions"

Ginzburg's book, published by Simon and Schuster, is an expanded version of an article by him which appeared in the July 6, 1954, issue of "The Reporter" and which was previously reviewed (121-32694-22). Ginzburg concedes that there has been an improvement in civil liberties since the death of Senator Joseph McCarthy. He claims, however, that the American public has been conditioned to accept the continued existence of the "antilibertarian institutions" which have developed in the past 20 years "in the name of fighting the menace of Communism." These are identified as the "public pillorying" of the "holders of unorthodox opinions" by congressional investigating committees, the prosecution of individuals for their political beliefs rather than overt acts, and a "vast network" of loyalty-security programs which "punish" individuals for their "unorthodox ideological sympathies and associations." Since these institutions will not disappear voluntarily, positive action must be taken to "shake them off." (pp. 1-19)

Freedom Is Indivisible

Ginzburg deplores the "expanding universe" of loyalty-security programs which now are applied not only to Federal employees but members of the Armed Forces, employees of private industry working on classified contracts, seamen and longshoremen, and individuals applying for passports and Government pensions. He claims that these programs are directed against not only communists but suspected communists, genuine or suspected former communists, members of present or former organizations in which communists are known or suspected to have been active, and all persons suspected of supporting causes championed by Communist Party, USA, "or any other suspect organization." He argues that, since freedom is indivisible, the rights and liberties of communists cannot be abridged without undermining the rights and liberties of all citizens. (pp. 20-58)

Spurious Menace

Ginzburg claims that a spurious communist menace was created during the 1930's by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as part of Congressman Dies' efforts to discredit the New Deal. In 1941, a "Dies-inspired" rider was attached

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "Rededication to Freedom"

to the Department of Justice Appropriation Bill which ordered the FBI to investigate Government employees who were members of subversive groups or who advocated the overthrow of the Government. In complying with this provision, described as "the greatest and most fateful step" in promoting the myth of the communist menace, the Executive Branch included membership in communist front groups as one of the criteria for determining fitness for Government employment. This led to the acceptance of the principle of guilt by association. Ginzburg concedes that those responsible for administering the loyalty-security programs are sincere in their beliefs regarding the gravity of the communist menace but claims that, after 20 years of "emotional warfare" against communism, it has become impossible for them to make an objective appraisal of this threat. (pp. 59-101)

Spy Scare

Ginzburg then claims that the spurious communist menace was afforded a "powerful impetus" by the revelations of communist espionage activity after World War II. He claims that, since Dies had by then retired from the scene, the views of the FBI and other intelligence agencies prevailed. He charges that the FBI "enthusiastically accepted" the information furnished by Elizabeth Bentley because it provided a "retroactive justification" of the Bureau's previous investigations of subversive activity. At the same time, he alleges, the Bureau admitted (in a letter to the White House dated 2-1-46) that it would be practically impossible to prove her charges. As a result of hearings "inspired and provoked" by the FBI, the House Civil Service Subcommittee established the principle that persons of "questioned loyalty" should be excluded from Government service and that all doubts should be resolved in favor of the Government. When this was followed by the Executive Order of President Truman establishing the loyalty program, the reality of the communist menace was, in effect, established by law. (pp. 102-124)

Loyalty-Security Programs Ineffective

As a result of the Cold War and the fusion of the communist menace with the traditional hatred of spies, the idea of protecting the country from communist espionage has developed to the point where it has become an "absolute value," which takes precedence over all other social interests, many of which are of equal or greater importance. Ginzburg claims that the loyalty program has not only failed to uncover any spies but did not prevent the Government employment of Judith Coplon and Joseph Petersen (who passed classified information to Dutch officials). Claiming that all loyalty-security programs will become inoperative in a period of all-out war because of the delays involved in obtaining clearance, he argues that they are a "luxury" which the Nation can afford only in peacetime. (pp. 125-138)

The book concludes with a brief review of the unfavorable public reaction to the Alien and Sedition Law of 1798 and the Palmer Raids which followed World War II. In the latter connection, the Director is described as the link between the

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "Rededication to Freedom"

old Bureau of Investigation and the present FBI. These examples are cited in support of the author's call for the American public to overcome its "moral and intellectual lethargy" and take immediate steps to "dismantle all the antilibertarian machinery that we have erected to combat the mythical Communist menace in the United States and go back to the Bill of Rights." (pp. 139-165)

Other Charges

In addition to the above attacks on the Bureau, Ginzburg also charges that:

By tapping telephones, conducting "promiscuous" surveillances, and compiling "dossiers," the FBI has become "a law unto itself." (pp. 42-45)

The Bureau "launched a shameless and illegal lobbying drive" to reverse the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Jencks case. (pp. 49-50)

The FBI, although unable to corroborate the information furnished by Elizabeth Bentley, treated it as a confirmed fact. (p. 52)

The FBI is likely to succumb to the temptation to "fabricate" evidence. (p. 57)

The Director, in spite of the decrease in Party membership, insists that the communist menace is greater than ever and characterizes those who are fighting for civil liberties as "dupes of the Communist conspiracy." (p. 63)

The case against Judith Coplon was dismissed because the FBI had tapped her telephone and had arrested her without a warrant. (p. 103)

The FBI was able to "usurp the function of policy making on loyalty-security," and the Truman loyalty program should have been named the J. Edgar Hoover loyalty program because the Director was "primarily responsible for bringing it about." (p. 106)

The FBI "lobbied" for an expansion of its functions and powers under the loyalty program. (pp. 113-117)

Although Secretary of State Dulles was investigated by the Bureau, "who clears the FBI"? (p. 135)

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "Rededication to Freedom"

The Director, in a memorandum to Assistant Attorney General Donovan dated October 18, 1954, admitted that the Department of Justice had no right to investigate the activities of communists after World War I. (p. 160)

Miscellaneous Criticism

Ginzburg is also highly critical of the use of confidential informants; the "abuses" in the trials of Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs, and the Smith Act and Internal Security Act of 1950. He lauds Cyrus Eaton's criticism of the FBI over a national television network; describes Fred J. Cook as an "experienced and disinterested newspaperman"; and relies heavily on Max Lowenthal's book as the source for his comments on the Palmer Raids.

Observations

Ginzburg's book shows a complete lack of any awareness of the menace of communism. Reinhold Niebuhr, who wrote the introduction, felt it necessary to point out that, in his opinion, "the Communist conspiracy was more dangerous than the author assumes." Ginzburg's complete naivete on this question is best illustrated by his claim that the extensive communist infiltration into practically every aspect of American life during the 1930's actually "served the cause of democracy."

In view of the announcement that Ginzburg would be one of the contributors to the special issue of the ECLC publication "Rights" on the FBI, it is interesting to note that the views expressed in his book, "Rededication to Freedom," closely parallel the underlying theme of the article by Fred J. Cook in the October 18, 1958, issue of "The Nation." (pp. VIII, 82-83)

The Author

Ginzburg was born February 15, 1898, in Russia and resides in Arlington, Virginia. He was graduated from Columbia University in 1919 and received his Ph. D. from Harvard University in 1926. Outside of the periods 1948-1951, when he operated a radio station in Norwalk, Connecticut, and from 1955-1957 when he was research director of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, he has been employed in various capacities as a writer. Applicant-type investigations of Ginzburg were conducted in 1942 and 1955 in connection with his Federal employment. He was investigated under the Loyalty Program in 1951 and declared "eligible on loyalty" by

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "Rededication to Freedom"

the Civil Service Commission. These investigations disclosed that Ginzburg is regarded as a "progressive," a "left winger," and an evolutionary, as opposed to a revolutionary, Marxist but one who is not disloyal to the United States. A summary of the information available on Ginzburg was furnished to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary by letter dated October 6, 1955. In July, 1958, he submitted a statement urging the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to reject proposed legislation which would authorize the Secretary of State to refuse passports to communists. Ginzburg was listed in the September, 1958, issue of "Rights," official publication of the ECLC as one of the contributors to the October, 1958, issue of that publication which would be devoted exclusively to the FBI. This issue has not been published as yet. (77-14552; 100-419026; 121 32694; 100-384660-450)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: April 27, 1959

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Nease _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

DeLoach _____
 McGuire _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____

Book Reviews

SUBJECT: REQUEST BY DIRECTOR FOR REVIEW OF
 BOOK "FOR THE SKEPTIC," BY LYLE H. MUNSON
 CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

Reference is made to the enclosed newspaper clipping from the New York Journal American dated April 24, 1959, concerning a book entitled "For the Skeptic," which is to be published soon. The Director noted: "We should take a look at this book." As the enclosed clipping indicates, the book is to be published May 1, 1959, and will be available through a New York City book firm. The New York office is being instructed to obtain the book immediately on publication and to send it to the Central Research Section for review.

This matter will be closely followed and upon receipt of the book a review of it will be prepared.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

Enclosure

CDB
 CDB:lm
 (5) lmm
 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Section tickler
 1 -
 1 - Mr. Brennan

REC-10

62-46855-18

MAY 1 1959

CENTRAL RESEARCH

3 ENCLOSURE
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FROM

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Mr. W. C. Sullivan _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

FILE

We should
take a
look at this
book.

See Me _____
Note and Return _____
Prepare Reply _____
For Your Recommendation _____
What are the facts? _____
Remarks: _____

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ENCLOSURE

REC-10

62-46855-18

10 MAY 1 1959

CENTRAL RESEARCH

'FOR THE SKEPTIC'

REC-10

Book Pinpoints Red Scheme

Any notion that Communist leaders or their followers in this country sincerely desire peaceful co-existence with the West is blasted in a unique new book, to be published May 1.

Entitled "For the Skeptic," it consists entirely of extracts from records of Congressional committees, assembled in their past probes of now-infamous Red conspiracies in the United States.

Yet the book is as timely as tomorrow in its warning to all Americans.

COMPLETE DOMINATION

While invaluable both as a reference work and as fascinating, real-life cloak-and-dagger reading, its major im-

portance is that the warning message and supporting proof are contained in the same official words.

That damning, inescapable message—made without running outside comment—is that communism always has and always will seek the complete subjugation of every other political system in the world.

Compiler of the extracted committee reports and key testimony is Lyle H. Munson, 41, former Government intel-

ligence agent with both the Office of Strategic Services and the Central Intelligence Agency.

In an introduction to his new, 200-page book, which is subtitled "Selected Reading on Communist Activity in the United States of America," Munson declares the material it contains is the distillation of 100 hearings.

FIRST SUCH BOOK

He says that in the course of reading some 22,000 pages of testimony, he became convinced of the need for a single book containing highlights of the most notorious Red activi-

ties previously exposed in this country.

"I was constantly reminded," he adds, "that the FBI is precluded by law from publishing such reports, the Executive Branch generally has refrained from doing so, and the Judiciary has shunned doing so."

Material is presented on little-known or forgotten key points of all the notorious cases, ranging from recruitment for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War to the recent Hollywood spy ring exposed by double-agent Boris Morros.

The sum total of the testi-

mony, documents and findings cited serves to underscore for today, tomorrow and until communism is wiped out the declaration of Whittaker Chambers before a House subcommittee in 1948.

"Every Communist in the U. S.," he said as quoted in "For the Skeptic," is either an actual or a potential spy or saboteur and a permanent enemy of this system of government."

The Munson book, which contains an index of more than 400 names and organizations mentioned in the text, may be obtained by sending \$3 to The Bookmailer Inc., Box 101, Murray Hill Station, New York 16 N. Y.

You'll enjoy the hilarious adventures of Blondie, Jiggs and Maggie, Beetle, Balley and many others . . . in the 2 BIG SECTIONS of color comics with Sunday's Journal-American.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *as B*

DATE: April 28, 1959

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

SUBJECT: *Book Reviews*
IN EVERY WAR BUT ONE
 by Eugene Kinkead
 CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER *NY*

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr ☒
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:

Captioned book, reviewed by Central Research Section, discusses tactics used by Chinese communists in handling prisoners of war and is summarization of lengthy Army study on communist indoctrination of U. S. Army prisoners of war in Korea. In chapter entitled "Espionage for the Enemy," Kinkead indicates that some 75 repatriated prisoners of war had been "recruited to act as spies and had returned from prison with definite missions as enemy agents in the United States." Investigation conducted by Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence into this matter has completely debunked this allegation. Army has only one case with adequately substantiated or documented information concerning former prisoners of war who admitted accepting communist espionage missions. FBI mentioned on pages 57, 64, and 81 in a nonderogatory fashion.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information of the Director.

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b7C

REC-91

62-46855-19

16 MAY 1 1959

LLW:aml
 (7) *And*

- 1 - Section tickler
 1 -
 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - M.A. Jones
 1 - C. D. DeLoach
 1 - H. L. Edwards *TH*

68 MAY 7 1959

CENTRAL RESEARCH

Bohannon

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "In Every War But One"

Book is Expansion of Article Written in 1957

This book is an expanded version of an article entitled "The Study of Something New in History," written by Eugene Kinkead in The New Yorker for October 26, 1957. It represents a discussion of tactics used by the Chinese communists in handling prisoners of war and is actually a summarization of an intensive, five-year study made by the U.S. Army of the effect of communist indoctrination on those of its men held prisoners during the Korean War. Bureau files reflect no derogatory information regarding Kinkead, an editor of The New Yorker. They do, however, indicate past difficulties with The New Yorker in that it has been somewhat irresponsible and unreliable with regard to references concerning the Director and the FBI. (94-3-4-230-80)

Army Study of Repatriated American Prisoners of War

In Every War But One reflects the analysis of a detailed study by the U.S. Army of almost four thousand case histories of American soldiers taken captive in the Korean conflict who were returned to us. The study began in the Summer of 1950 and ended on July 29, 1955. Its broad aims were to evaluate both the communist treatment of Army prisoners, and the various problems that this treatment raised, including its military, medical, psychiatric, propaganda, and legal effects. In addition, the study noted the possible hazard to national security posed by American soldiers who had undergone prolonged ideological pressure at the hands of the communists and had been since discharged from the service.

Korean War Unique

According to the author, the Korean War was unique in that it was the only war in which the United States has fought that American prisoners of war have posed a grave problem. The survey indicated that (1) during the entire conflict there was not a single successful American escape from a permanent prison camp; (2) twenty-one American prisoners chose to remain in Korea; (3) almost one out of three collaborated in some manner with the enemy; and (4) 38% died in captivity--a higher prisoner death rate than that of any of our previous wars including the Revolution.

Well-Planned Communist Program

As a result of its study, the Army has concluded that the techniques of indoctrination, interrogation, and manipulation of the flow of prisoners' mail, "were part of a well-planned communist program which had three aims. First, the program sought to disseminate propaganda favorable to communism and unfavorable to the West across the world, particularly in the critical areas of Asia and Africa.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "In Every War But One"

Second, it sought to control prisoners with a minimum of difficulty and a minimum use of guards. Third, it sought the outright conversion of American prisoners to communism--or, failing that, at least their acquiescence to the possible rightness of the communist position. The Army believes that this program succeeded in achieving its first two aims. Propaganda was made and was successfully disseminated; prisoners were controlled with a minimum of effort. The Army feels reasonably doubtful about their achievement in the third aim." (In Every War But One, pp. 123, 124)

Some 75 Espionage Agents Recruited by Communists

Kinhead, who assembled the material in this book in an interview pattern, credited Captain Bert Cumby, who was in charge of a special interrogation team in the Army's Far East Command with stating,

"'In the Far East intelligence section, during reprocessing, we were naturally very much on the lookout for such espionage agents among American returnees. Actually, some seventy-five did turn up on initial and subsequent screening, either in the Orient or on the high seas before getting back to port in the United States. They were well prepared, we found for their assignments. They had codes and fairly explicit instructions as to how to reach and recognize their future contacts--equipment that revealed how substantial was the planning that had gone into this project and how protracted the aims the Communists had in mind for these men. For example, they were instructed to make their initial contact, in most cases, only after six or seven years had passed after their return to the United States.' " (In Every War But One, pp. 77, 78)

According to Cumby,

"'The enemy had not only re-educated this entire group of captives to come back and spy of their own free will against their country, but this re-education was so successful that it stuck--except in the few cases of those who confessed. Fortunately for us, their confessions implicated the others. We should, I think, be careful neither to overestimate nor to underestimate this. We knew it was a possibility to begin with; and we were completely prepared for the possibility. Provision has been made, of course, for these men to be carefully watched in the future. Actually, the majority probably do not realize that they are known Communist agents.' " (In Every War But One, pp. 78, 79)

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "In Every War But One"

Later in the book, Cumby reportedly stated,

"'Keeping track of known, and also of potential, enemy agents is, of course, a two-fold task... When they remain in the service, it's fairly easy. Once they leave it, the problem increases somewhat. We certainly can't and we don't want to, keep every potentially disloyal civilian returnee under observation for the next ten years. But the whereabouts of some of them have to be known so that they can be watched. It's a matter, of course, that has been considered by the top-level security people in the Army and definite plans have been made on how to deal with the problem.'" (In Every War But One, p. 188)

Army Investigation Into Espionage Allegations

As a result of these allegations of espionage, an investigation was conducted into this matter by Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (ACSI) and the following information in essence was brought to the attention of the Attorney General on March 13, 1959.

Allegations of espionage on the part of former prisoners of war in Korea by Kinhead were credited by the author to Captain Bert Cumby, an Army officer stationed in West Germany. ACSI, at the request of the Under Secretary of the Army, looked into this matter in detail and prepared a summary of the background of those prisoners who allegedly had a communist mission in the United States. ACSI has completely debunked this allegation since the information came from a source who proved to be unreliable and who was unable to substantiate his allegation in any part. The original source of the information is Preston E. Richie, a former Korean prisoner of war, who had a record of collaborating with the communists while imprisoned. He has now been discharged from the Army and is being considered for investigation by the Bureau. Army interrogations and investigations have also failed to substantiate the allegation.

With the exception of one case, the Army has no substantiated or documented information concerning former prisoners of war who admitted accepting communist espionage missions. There have been instances in which allegations were made that certain repatriated prisoners of war were "suspected" or "believed" to have accepted communist espionage missions, but those allegations were never adequately substantiated.

On February 27, 1959, the Secretary of the Army received a request from the House Committee on Un-American Activities, over the signature of Frances E. Walter, Chairman, for detailed information concerning this allegation that appeared in Kinhead's book. In addition, this allegation was debated on the Dave Garroway show March 16, 1959, by the author Kinhead and Brigadier General S. L. Marshall, Retired, who represents a Detroit newspaper. (100-400646-5604, 5609, 5613, 5611; 100-405410)

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "In Every War But One"

References to FBI

<u>Page</u>	<u>Quote</u>
57	"Copies of any information on the men collected by other governmental agencies, such as the F.B.I. were acquired."
64	"A summary of the file on each of the men who had been discharged was sent to the office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the area in which the man lived, for the simple reason that all prisoners had been exposed to Communist propaganda. Two hundred and ten of the discharges' summaries contained material that, in the opinion of the Army, might give the F.B.I. reason to investigate those particular men more thoroughly as possible security risks, or might cause the Department of Justice to examine the cases for possible criminal action against the men as civilians...."
64	"...Two hundred and fifteen cases (as compared to the 210 referred to the F.B.I.) were selected as deserving further study..."
81	"One of them, Cumby told me, was the most scurrilous he has ever seen. It came from the vice-president of an oil company who stated in unprintable language that he was going to see that the Federal Bureau of Investigation conducted an inquiry into the motives of every officer who took part in the trial on the government side, including the court members...."

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: "In Every War But One"

Facts

The Army furnished us in excess of 300 counterintelligence files on returned prisoners of war whom the Army classified as security risks. We, in turn, reviewed these files to determine if we should open security investigations and also whether the cases should be referred to the Department for an opinion as to whether treason investigations were desired. Our standards for instituting security investigations of such returned prisoners of war were outlined in SAC Letter 53-15 and in practically every instance a security investigation was conducted. Also, in practically every instance the Department declined to authorize the institution of a treason investigation. A full treason investigation was conducted on each of the 21 prisoners of war who elected to remain in Korea. (100-400646)

The Batchelor case was handled entirely by the Army. Nothing can be identified with the unknown vice president of an oil company.

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. McGuire _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Parsons _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tamm _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Holloman _____
 Miss Gandy _____

Del CHRISTY
 ..Advertising Consultant..
 Washington...Pennsylvania

SUITE FIVE FORTY THREE • • • WASHINGTON UNION TRUST BUILDING

April 27, 1959

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
 United States Department of Justice
 Federal Bureau of Investigation
 Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Just a line to acknowledge with "thanks" your letter of March 30th, which I found upon my return from New York City today.

I am very pleased you are in accord with my sentiments and I appreciate fully, "Policy" refrains you from making comments.

Your good wishes, sir, as well as those of your Special Agent, [redacted] more than compensate for our special trip to Washington.

I am happy to report that my literary agent is most optimistic about finding a publisher for "Story Telling Time".

When same is published I plan to send both of you autographed copies.

In the event it is a success, I want you to know that it was "You", sir, who indirectly planted the seeds for

BA 5-4020

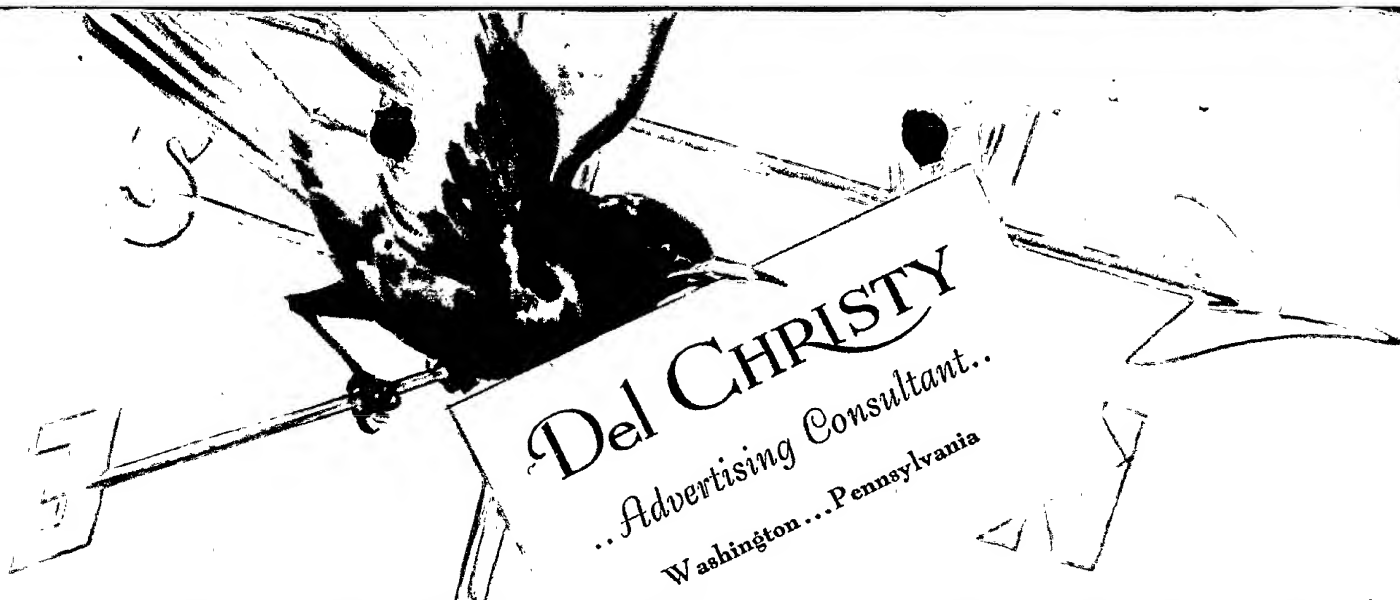
EX-135

~~EXP. PROC.~~
 APR 30 1959

62 MAY 7 1959

"BUSINESS PROMOTIONAL ADVERTISEMENTS DESIGNED AND WRITTEN TO MAKE PASSERS...BUYERS"

Book Reviews



SUITE FIVE FORTY THREE • • • WASHINGTON UNION TRUST BUILDING

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,

-2-

April 27, 1959

the inspiration of my literary efforts to do something for the youth of America.

Thus, I say again "Thanks" and my fervent prayer is that I may one day thank "You" in person.

Cordially,


Del Christy

DC- gm

BA 5-4020

"BUSINESS PROMOTIONAL ADVERTISEMENTS DESIGNED AND WRITTEN TO MAKE PASSERS...BUYERS"

May 27, 1959

Title of Book "THE SEVENTH DAY"Author Hans Hellmut KirstBook Reviews (62-46855)
Central Research Section

This book has come to the attention of the Central Research Section. Without review, a spot check indicates the book relates, or may relate to the responsibilities of the following Sections and/or Divisions. (See "Nature of Book" at bottom of page.)

(Please initial in the appropriate box, and return promptly to the Central Research Section.)

ROUTING	Obtain book for review	Book review not required by this Section or Division
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Domestic Intelligence Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> Central Research, Room 7627	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Espionage, Room 2714	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <i>work</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> Internal Security, Room 1509	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Liaison, Room 7641	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Name Check, Room 6125 I.B.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nationalities Intelligence, Room 1527	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <i>DDW</i>
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REC

62-46855-21

10 MAY 29 1959

Nature of Book: New York Times book review attached.

ENCLOSURE

57 JUN 5 1959

Central Research

Books of The Times

By ORVILLE PRESCOTT

IN Western Germany, where business and industry prosper and politicians plan for when the grand old Chancellor retires, numerous citizens brood about a divided Germany and about Germany's probable role as the number one target for nuclear bombardment, if and when the sword of Damocles under which we all live falls. Among them no one, surely, broods more furiously than Hans Hellmut Kirst, author of "The Seventh Day,"* a powerful propaganda novel that eloquently champions a neutralist philosophy and pleads for peace.



Hans Hellmut Kirst

It is not necessary to agree with Mr. Kirst's fundamental position to feel terrified by his book. As long as men of might threaten each other while juggling H-bombs, books like these are certain to terrify. The special quality of Mr. Kirst's book is that, although it is not distinguished as fiction, it is sardonically amusing as well as appalling.

Hans Hellmut Kirst, who served for twelve years as a professional soldier in the German Army, is one of the ablest and most popular novelists in post-war Germany. His best-known work is a trilogy about the adventures of a humorously cynical soldier called Gunner Asch, in which German militarism is mercilessly ridiculed. That series was so popular in Germany that some people believe it contributed greatly to a general lack of enthusiasm for the Federal Republic's new army.

If "The Seventh Day" should be as popular, many Germans may feel that all is lost indeed, that some inept and well-meaning idiot is certain to start the first pebble rolling that will bring with it an avalanche of atomic bombs.

A Curious Chronicle

This is a curious novel written in a curious form. At least half of it consists of transcripts of radio broadcasts, public speeches, military reports and minutes of cabinet and NATO meetings that chronicle six days of multiplying disaster—from a rising in Poland and fighting between the forces of the two Germanies to Soviet intervention and general atomic war. By the seventh day no one is left alive, at least in Central Europe, to listen to communiqués.

The other half concerns the destinies of more than a dozen strategically located

characters. These colorful and neatly silhouetted people move by so rapidly that following their affairs is somewhat breath-taking. Mr. Kirst hasn't tried to characterize them in depth, but he has certainly made them representative of many walks of life and has involved them in a huge variety of pitiful and dreadful circumstances.

"The Seventh Day" combines the bitter anger of a prophet denouncing the sins and follies of Nineveh and Babylon with the despairing pessimism of utter hopelessness. Nothing can be done, Mr. Kirst seems to say. Men of goodwill are helpless. The momentum of the cold war is too great. Statesmen, governments and peoples are too committed to prepared positions. Any small incident can launch a train of events that will destroy us all.

Dashes of Cheer Added

Such resigned gloom does not make for exactly cheerful reading. Nevertheless a certain amount of cheerfulness keeps breaking into "The Seventh Day." Mr. Kirst is fond of many of his characters. He writes about them with humor as well as with pity. And in his quotations from the jargon of government officialdom, he writes with just enough parody to be satirically entertaining while at the same time always sounding authentic. Nevertheless, expert as his statements by broadcasters, generals and politicians may be, they do grow tiresome. There are too many of them.

"The Seventh Day" in its general account of the outbreak and spread of the third world war is coldly realistic and thoroughly believable. That it should be believable is perhaps its most terrible comment on our unhappy age. But "The Seventh Day" is not just a book of general warning; it is a peculiarly German book. Mr. Kirst is particularly distressed by the mere existence of two German states, and the very idea of their rival existence seems more outrageous to him than it may to American readers. And he suggests more than once that the Federal Republic of Western Germany is almost as completely dominated by the United States as is East Germany by the Soviet Union.

This idea, of course, seems preposterous from our side of the Atlantic Ocean. If neither German government truly represents the German people, Mr. Kirst suggests, a third government uncontaminated by foreign influence might be able to do so. But with the grim realism that controls his entire book, he does not allow his advocates of a third all-German government to accomplish anything. They, too, are helpless in the track of the avalanche.

The other novels about the third world war that I have read seemed to me like rather dreadful science fiction. "The Seventh Day" may not be notable as fiction, but most of it is so convincing that it doesn't seem like fiction at all.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
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Rosen _____
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Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
Date 5-27-59
p. 37 M.

*THE SEVENTH DAY. By Hans Hellmut Kirst. 424 pages. Doubleday. \$4.95.

67-46455-21 ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. E. Belmont *WCB*

DATE: May 4, 1959

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCB*

SUBJECT: "FOR THE SKEPTIC"
EDITED BY LYLE H. MURSON
BOOK REVIEW
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER
62-46855

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
DeLoach _____
McGuire _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

The Director sent a brief review of above book clipped from New York Journal-American, April 24, 1959, on which he had noted "We should take a look at this book. H." Memorandum to you of April 27, 1959, advised book had been ordered through New York Office. Book has been received and is reviewed herein.

Book placed in Bureau Library. smk.

SYNOPSIS:

Book is compilation of extracts of testimony, chiefly concerning Soviet espionage in the United States given by witnesses before Senate and House committees investigating subversion. Editor Murson, anticommunist. References to Director and FBI give over-all favorable impression seen as antidote to smear campaign. Book should reawaken Americans to menace of communism at home and to fraud inherent in Soviet Union's phrase "peaceful co-existence." Serious weakness precluding recommendation of book is inclusion of testimony of Larry E. Karley, discredited former FBI Agent.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. For the information of the Director *62-46855*
NOT RECORDED
MAY 13 1959
2. For referral to Espionage Section which may wish to examine testimony relating to espionage appearing in this book. Book has been forwarded to Bureau Library.

W.C.S.

1 - Bureau Library
1 - Mr. Tamm
1 - Mr. Trotter
1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Tele. Room
1 - Mr. Holmes
1 - Mr. Gandy

MAY 14 1959

RESEARCH

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont

Re: "For the Skeptic"

Edited by Lyle H. Munson, Book Review

DETAILS:

Extracts of Testimony

For the Skeptic is a compilation of extracts of testimony given by numerous witnesses before the House and Senate committees investigating subversion. Testimony included touches upon the major espionage cases from the Amerasia case to the Rosenberg case. In 188 pages the editor has distilled much of the most disquieting testimony ever given on Soviet espionage activity and targets in the United States, and the assistance given to espionage by the American communists.

Lyle H. Munson

Referral/Consult

Lyle Hugh Munson, born September 13, 1918, in Windsor, Illinois, is one of the partners of The Bookmailer, Inc., a New York firm which issued this book. In the past, Munson has acted as consultant for the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Senate Judiciary Committee investigation in 1956, both of which reflected favorably upon him. J. G. Sourwine, a reference of Munson, commented very favorably on Munson and described him as a student of communism and very anticommunist. (77-71525-23, 5)

(77-71525-23, 5)

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont

Re: "For the Skeptic"

Edited by Lyle H. Munson, Book Review

In February, 1957, Pedro de Mesones (head of the Pan American Anti-Communist Association, Inc., a pro-Trujillo organization in New York City) contacted Munson to inquire as to the progress of a book. Munson reportedly inquired as to the possibility of soliciting a foreword for the book from the Director. He withdrew his request when he realized it would be embarrassing for both Mr. Hoover and himself. (77-71525-23)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

next to serial 23)

(77-71525-unrec. serial

Referral/Consult

The Editor's "Introduction" to the present book gives a clue to the personality of Munson. He implies that he is having the instant material published because "the FBI is precluded, by law, from publishing such reports, the Executive Branch has generally refrained from doing so, and the Judiciary has shunned doing so." He lauds "the continuing vigil of our Congressional investigating committees." From these comments, plus Munson's eagerness to correct what he considered a serious fault in CIA, and occasional interpolations in editing this book, it can be tentatively concluded that Munson is enthusiastically anticommunist, though his enthusiasm, while very commendatory, may on occasions outweigh his good judgment.

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont

Re: "For the Skeptic"
Edited by Lyle H. Munson, Book Review

References to the Director and the FBI

The Director was referred to in connection with the Amerasia case. Munson presented excerpts of testimony which stressed the FBI's diligent efforts in this case and the odds against which the Bureau was forced to proceed. A portion of the late Secretary of Defense Forrestal's personal papers under date of May 28, 1945, were quoted including the comments of his then advisor Major Correa. Correa "said that the FBI thought that unless speedy action were taken important evidence would be dissipated, lost or destroyed." Forrestal's remarks continued: "I asked Captain Vardaman to see to it that the President was informed in this matter and then I called Mr. Edgar Hoover (sic) and suggested that he advise Mr. Tom Clark and have him also see that the President is in full information of all the facts in the matter as well as their implications." (page 33)

There were numerous references to the FBI in this book. These selections were such as to create an over-all favorable impression of this Bureau.

The book is seen to be timely with reference to the smear campaign. One of the most persistent and malicious lies of the smear campaigners is the charge that the FBI deliberately manufactured the menace of subversion in this country. The excerpts in this book, on the other hand, give convincing reality to the communist menace.

The FBI is given due credit in such passages as that appearing in connection with the Rosenberg case where it is noted: "On February 3, 1950, on the basis of information furnished by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, British authorities arrested Dr. Emil Julius Klaus Fuchs..." The total impression created by this book is that of a timely antidote for the poison of the current smear campaign.

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont

Re: "For the Sceptic"
Edited by Lyle H. Hanson, Book Review

A Serious Weakness: Inclusion of Testimony by Lawrence Kerley

This book is seen to possess this significant weakness: pages 35 to 60 are devoted to excerpts of the testimony of discredited former Special Agent Larry Ernest Kerley. The testimony in question was given by Kerley before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, on a bill to amend the immigration act of October 16, 1918, and related to his appearances before this body on September 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 28, 29, 1949.

You will recall the difficulties that the Bureau has had with Kerley. Unable to adjust to the work of an Agent, Kerley resigned on October 1, 1943, at which time he received an adjective rating of only "Fair." Kerley violated his oath of office signed September 17, 1941 to protect the confidential character of information learned by him during his Bureau employment by disclosing and furnishing after he resigned data concerning four Russian espionage cases to Howard Rushmore, a reporter for the New York Journal-American, who published same. After resigning, Kerley retained possession of copies of Bureau bulletins, investigative reports, and Bureau notes. Other disclosures he made after his resignation concerning Bureau investigative techniques impaired the Bureau's investigative work. After a long delay by the Department in considering Kerley's prosecution, same was ultimately declined, with the result, it might be added, that Kerley has continued to plague the Bureau with his allegations (e. g. to George Sokolsky in 1956) that the Bureau has persecuted him.

The most recent reference to Kerley in his Personnel File is a letter to Mr. Kimball Johnson, Chief, Investigations Division, U. S. Civil Service Commission dated September 24, 1957, concerning Charles Gurchot, U. S. Civil Service Commission, in which it was necessary to correct an impression given by Kerley in his testimony of September 15, 1949, before the Subcommittee, Senate Judiciary Committee. The testimony in question, which appears on pages 51 and 52 of the book, For the Sceptic, stated that Gurchot was a contact of Soviet Vice Consul Gregori Koshlitz and was turned over to Gregori Koshlitz.

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont

Re: "For the Skeptic"

Edited by Lyle H. Munson, Book Review

who succeeded Kheifets in May, 1944. It is apparent from the testimony that Kerley had been an FBI employee and the inference might be drawn that his information was derived from his service with the Bureau. It was necessary to advise the Civil Service Commission in our letter of September 24, 1957, that our files disclosed no information that Garchot was turned over to Kasparov by Kheifets and no information that Garchot was in contact with Kasparov. It is highly unfortunate that this book is now published with this erroneous information repeated on its pages. (57-106599)

CONCLUSIONS:

For the Skeptic sounds a timely warning to Americans to keep alert to the living danger of communism in this country and to the deadly fraud being practiced by the Soviet Union in using the propaganda phrase "peaceful co-existence." Favorable references to the FBI scattered throughout the testimony promise considerable potential in countering the smear campaign.

It is extremely unfortunate, however, that Kerley's testimony is included. In the reviewer's opinion, this fact precludes recommending this book.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: May 11, 1959

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Nease _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Clayton _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

SUBJECT: BOOK REVIEWS
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER
62-46855 *Form 5-103*

The "Memorandum To All Bureau Officials and Supervisors" dated January 21, 1959, initiated a book review control by the Publications Desk, Central Research Section. This program is being closely followed to make it as efficient as possible. Current experience indicates that the mechanics involved in referring information regarding potential books for review to the various sections or divisions at the Seat of Government can be streamlined through the implementation of a form. The enclosed form is recommended as an effective means for expediting and cutting down on dictation and paper work of this kind. *17426*

In this connection, Central Research Section will continue to recommend for review books critical of the Director or the Bureau which have not been reviewed or considered for review. Books relating to communism generally, Bureau investigations, crime, law enforcement, and the like, which may be of interest to a particular section or division, will continue to be referred to the interested sections or divisions to determine whether the particular book should be obtained and reviewed. *B-110*

In a little over three months, a total of twenty-six books have been routed through the Bureau for consideration as to review. These books have covered categories including the Mafia, segregation, Central Intelligence Agency and national security, proposed legal advisors for indigent defendants, prisoners of war, international communism, civil rights, corruption in city government, juvenile delinquency, sabotage, guilt by association, criminal law enforcement, and Federal committees.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed, suggested form be submitted to the Forms Desk, Training and Inspection Division, for approval.

Enclosure

AMB:aml (12)

ENCLOSURE

REC-9

- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 -
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Forms Desk, Rm. 5226
- 1 - Mr. Trotter
- 1 - Mr. Tamm

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. McGuire
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

66-3482

JUN 1 1959

MAY 28 1959

5-103 assigned to form & noted in Dir 5-11-59
62-46855-12/59
22K

b6
 b7c

FILED
 JUN 1 1959
 FBI - NEW YORK

5-103 (5-11-59)

TITLE OF BOOK _____

AUTHOR ~~XXX~~ _____

BOOK REVIEWS (62-46855)
CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

This book has come to the attention of the Central Research Section. Without review, a spot check indicates the book relates, or may relate to the responsibilities of the following Sections and/or Divisions. (See "Nature of Book" at bottom of page.)

Galiss (Please initial in the appropriate box, and return promptly to the Central Research Section.)

Thompson, Paul (Page 1)
ROUTING

☐ DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

☐ Central Research, Room 7627

☐ Espionage, Room 2714

☐ Internal Security, Room 1509

☐ Liaison, Room 7641

☐ Name Check, Room 6125, I.B.

☐ Nationalities Intelligence,
Room 1527

☐ Subversive Control, Room 1250

☐ IDENTIFICATION DIVISION *Thompson*

☐ _____ Section, Room _____

☐ TRAINING & INSPECTION DIVISION *Thompson*

☐ _____ Section, Room _____

☐ ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION *Thompson*

☐ _____ Section, Room _____

☐ FILES & COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION *Thompson*

☐ _____ Section, Room _____

☐ INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION *Thompson*

☐ _____ Section, Room _____

☐ LABORATORY DIVISION *Thompson*

☐ _____ Section, Room _____

☐ CRIME RECORDS DIVISION *Thompson*

☐ _____ Section, Room _____

Obtain book
for review

Book review not
required by this
Section or Division

NATURE OF BOOK: *Thompson, Paul*

100-5-29-59

62-46855-22
ENCLOSURE

PROPOSED FORM

Title of Book _____

Author _____

Book Reviews (62-46855)
Central Research Section

This book has come to the attention of the Central Research Section. Without review, a spot check indicates the book relates, or may relate to the responsibilities of the following Sections and/or Divisions. (See "Nature of Book" at bottom of page.)

(Please initial in the appropriate box, and return promptly to the Central Research Section.)

ROUTING	Obtain book for review	Book review not required by this Section or Division
<input type="checkbox"/> Domestic Intelligence Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> Central Research, Room 7627	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Espionage, Room 2714	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Internal Security, Room 1509	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Liaison, Room 7641	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Name Check, Room 6125 I.B.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Nationalities Intelligence, Room 1527	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Subversive Control, Room 1250	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> Identification Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> Training & Inspection Division		
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 <input type="checkbox"/> Administrative Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> Files & Communications Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> Investigative Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> Laboratory Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
 <input type="checkbox"/> Crime Records Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Nature of Book:

ENCLOSURE

62-46855-22
PRINTED 5-103File
66-3482 2-11

May 26, 1959

Title of Book "PROTRACTED CONFLICT, A Challenging Study of Communist Strategy"Author Robert Strausz-Hupe, William R. Kintner, James Dougherty,
Alvin J. CottrellBook Reviews (62-46855)
Central Research Section

This book has come to the attention of the Central Research Section. Without review, a spot check indicates the book relates, or may relate to the responsibilities of the following Sections and/or Divisions. (See "Nature of Book" at bottom of page.)

(Please initial in the appropriate box, and return promptly to the Central Research Section.)

copy of book placed in Bureau Library.

Obtain book
for review

Book review not
required by this
Section or Division

ROUTING

<input type="checkbox"/> Domestic Intelligence Division	
<input type="checkbox"/> Central Research, Room 7627	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Espionage, Room 2714	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Internal Security, Room 1509	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Liaison, Room 7641	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Name Check, Room 6125 I.B.	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Nationalities Intelligence, Room 1527	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Subversive Control, Room 1250	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Identification Division	
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Training & Inspection Division	
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Administrative Division	
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Files & Communications Division	
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>
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<input type="checkbox"/> Laboratory Division	
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Crime Records Division	
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>

Nature of Book:

REC-64

Central Research

62-46855-23
NOT RECORDED
MAY 29 1959

57 JUN 5 1959

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: July 29, 1959

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: ~~EVALUATION OF BOOK REVIEW CONTROL DESK~~
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 DeLoach _____
 McGuire _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:

Book Reviews

W.C. Sullivan

The Book Review Control Desk was established in the Central Research Section in January, 1959, as a focal point of information on matters pertaining to book reviews to be conducted at the Seat of Government (SOG). Through the establishment of this desk, it is now possible to immediately determine the status of any book review which either has been done or is being done at the Bureau as well as books which have not as yet been reviewed. The main function of this desk is to keep aware of newly published books and to route the information to the appropriate section or division at the SOG for determination as to whether a book review is warranted. In the past six months twenty books have been reviewed at the SOG. The Book Review Control Desk maintains tickler copies of these reviews for sixty days and maintains a card index concerning the books for a period of one year. Since the desk was established, it has received and resolved approximately forty inquiries concerning book reviews. The work procedure has been streamlined to eliminate unnecessary paper work, and the desk was established to function without any increase in personnel. Thus, the cost to the Bureau has been insignificant while the value of the desk as a focal point of evaluation and control has been proven by the number of inquiries it has resolved. No present changes are contemplated in the operation of the desk.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the Book Review Control Desk continue to operate as a function of the Central Research Section in its presently established form.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 -
- 1 - Mr. Brennan
- 1 - Section Policy Folder
- 1 - Section Tickler

CDB:bam (6)

REC- 92

10 JUL 30 1959

60 AUG 6 1959

CENTRAL RESEARCH

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: EVALUATION OF BOOK REVIEW CONTROL DESK

DETAILS:

Purpose:

The purpose of this memorandum is to evaluate the functions of the Book Review Control Desk in the Central Research Section.

Origin:

In December, 1958, Inspector John F. Malone recommended that a central control and repository for book reviews at the SOG be created by placing such responsibility with the already established Publications Desk in the Central Research Section. Inspector Malone's recommendation was approved and the Book Review Control Desk was established in January, 1959. (100-352546-1755)

Responsibility:

The new desk was to have responsibility for (1) recommendations, in general, and evaluation of requests concerning what book should be purchased and reviewed at the SOG and which division or section should prepare the reviews; and (2) maintenance of a properly indexed record of the pending and completed reviews, assignments, and an approximate period of time.

On January 21, 1959, a memorandum to all Bureau officials and supervisors was distributed advising of the establishment of the desk, its purpose, and its proposed method of functioning.

Control:

(1) A main control file (62-46855) on the subject "Book Reviews" was opened in accordance with approval of a recommendation made in a memorandum from Mr. Sullivan to Mr. Belmont dated January 28, 1959. The original or a copy of all memoranda on book reviews is routed to this file.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

Re: EVALUATION OF BOOK REVIEW CONTROL DESK

(2) A card index of all books ordered for review or assigned for review was created and is currently maintained by the Book Review Control Desk. The card maintained on each book includes the author; title; identity of the official, section, and division recommending purchase and review of the book; identity of the section and division to which the review was assigned; and the date the review was completed.

(3) In the memorandum to all Bureau officials and supervisors on January 21, 1959, instructions were set forth that a tickler copy of all book reviews should be designated for the Publications Desk to assist in the proper maintenance of an index system on book reviews. Once each month the main control file on book reviews is checked to assure that everyone preparing book reviews is complying with these instructions.

Policy of Reviews:

The Book Review Control Desk recommends for review books critical of the Director or the Bureau; books relating to communism generally; books concerning Bureau investigations, crime, law enforcement, and the like. Other books are reviewed upon the specific request of the Director or other Bureau officials. When the subject matter is general, the Central Research Section does the review. Where the subject matter indicates that a specific section or division would be interested because of related work interest, the book is routed for a decision as to whether a review should be done as well as for assignment of the review. The person responsible for the functioning of the Book Review Control Desk reviews daily publications and other periodicals to be alert for newly published books so that they may be brought to the attention of the appropriate section or division.

Streamlining Procedure Adopted:

The routing of books for review or for recommendation as to assignment for review to another section or division by the Book Review Control Desk initially involved dictation and paper work which it has been possible to simplify. A form was devised and approved through which the dictation and paper work have been eliminated during the course of routing books or information concerning books to other sections or divisions by the Book Review Control Desk.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: EVALUATION OF BOOK REVIEW CONTROL DESK

Over-all Value:

The over-all value of the function of the Book Review Control Desk stems from its role as a focal point of information concerning book reviews at the SOG. Whereas formerly there was duplication of effort, such as in two reviews being conducted by different section at the SOG, and there was often time wasted through the efforts required to ascertain whether anyone else at the SOG was doing or had done a review that was contemplated, today it is immediately possible to: (1) determine if anyone already has done or is doing a review of a specific book; (2) obtain a copy of a review recently done; and (3) avoid duplication of reviews by various sections.

The value of the desk in this regard is shown by the fact that in six months approximately forty inquiries have been made of the desk by other sections or divisions at the SOG to resolve questions concerning book reviews.

Reviews Conducted:

In the 6-month period of its operation, the Book Review Control Desk has considered for review approximately 51 books which from one source or another came to the attention of the Bureau. Of these, 20 have been reviewed either by the Central Research Section or other sections to which routed. Seventeen were determined not worth reviewing and the remaining fourteen were routed to other sections for a decision as to whether a review was warranted and were rejected on the basis of the decision of other sections.

The reviews which were done are broken down as follows:

Domestic Intelligence Division - 10
(Central Research Section - 8
Internal Security Section - 2)

Investigative Division - 4
Crime Records Division - 6

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

Re: EVALUATION OF BOOK REVIEW CONTROL DESK

Cost of Operation:

The establishment of the Book Review Control Desk has not added any significant cost to the Bureau's budget. The work was absorbed by combining the new function with that of the previously existing Publications Desk without any increase in personnel. The streamlining procedure used to facilitate routing eliminates the paper work of the new function, and the over-all value of the desk as a focal point of information has been established through the number of inquiries resolved by the desk.

Contemplated Action:

The process of maintaining tickler copies of reviews for review index cards for reference raised the question of the desirable length of time to maintain such records. Based on practical experience, it appears most advisable to maintain the tickler copies of reviews in accordance with standard Bureau instructions; that is, for a period of sixty days. Thereafter, inquiries concerning the reviews can be resolved either from the review index cards maintained or through the main control file. The review index cards have proven invaluable for reference purposes, and it appears most desirable to maintain them for one year in view of the numerous inquiries which can be resolved through them and without reference to files.

Future Action:

The Central Research Section will continue to closely evaluate the work of the Book Review Control Desk to be alert for further streamlining procedures which may be introduced in connection with the function of this desk. At present, it appears no changes are necessary as the desk is functioning smoothly. In six months another status report on the operation of the desk will be submitted.

June 26, 1959

Mr. Walter C. Shaw, Sr.
Chairman of the Board
C. C. Murphy Company
331 Fifth Avenue
Merionesport, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Shaw:

The book "The Age of Treason" by Dr. R. Swinburne Clymer, was received June 22, 1959. I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending it.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE: We have had prior cordial correspondence with Shaw who has shown a great deal of interest in the Director's speeches and articles by reprinting some of them. This book deals with numerous controversial subjects and the letter is purposely perfunctory in the event Shaw may be desirous of obtaining the Director's endorsement of it.

DCJ:jab
(5)

162-46855-
JUL 1 1959

7 JUL 2 1959

SAC, Los Angeles

2-Orig & copy
1-yellow copy
1-62-46855
1-Section tickler
1-
1-J. S. Johnson
1-J. J. O'Connor

June 18, 1959

Director, FBI (25-330571)

b6
b7c

NATION OF ISLAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - NOI

The 5/28/59 issue of the Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch carried an advertisement by the Lastside Temple Book Store, 3208 South Central Avenue, Los Angeles 11, California, on the book: "The Holy Qur-An."

You should expeditiously and discreetly obtain one copy of referenced book and immediately forward it to the Bureau, attention Central Research Section.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Book requested by J. J. O'Connor, Internal Security Section, on 6/17/59.

*1. Original for file in 100-100000.
5-29-59
Book forwarded to, and by, J. J. O'Connor, Internal Security Section.
RM-100-100000-5-24-59 JMB*

62-46855-
NOT RECORDED
191 JUN 22 1959

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Sullivan _____

MAL:aml

(8)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

3776

Title of Book "TORCH OF LIBERTY"Author Louise Pettibone Smith

0 Book Reviews (62-46855)
Central Research Section

This book has come to the attention of the Central Research Section. Without review, a spot check indicates the book relates, or may relate to the responsibilities of the following Sections and/or Divisions. (See "Nature of Book" at bottom of page.)

(Please initial in the appropriate box, and return promptly to the Central Research Section.)

ROUTING	Obtain book for review	Book review not required by this Section or Division
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Domestic Intelligence Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> Central Research, Room 7627	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Espionage, Room 2714	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Internal Security, Room 1509 / <i>O'Connor</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Liaison, Room 7641	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Name Check, Room 6125 I.B.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Nationalities Intelligence, Room 1527	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Subversive Control, Room 1250 / <i>W.H. Fitzgerald</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Identification Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Training & Inspection Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Administrative Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Files & Communications Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Investigative Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Laboratory Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Crime Records Division		
<input type="checkbox"/> _____ Section, Room _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

62-46855
 NOT RECORDED

23 JUN 19 1959

Central Research

Nature of Book: "25 years in the life of the foreign born in the U.S.A."
 See 100-7046-2892. Book placed in the Bureau Library.

63 JUN 23 1959

62-46855-

Mr. A. H. Belmont

June 11, 1959

V. C. Sullivan

"SEEING THROUGH THE RED"
SPEECH BY EUGENE LYONS
REVIEW
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

C
PROP. REVIEW W.S.

Synopsis

Eugene Lyons, Senior Editor of Reader's Digest gave speech on Soviet blueprint for world domination before Executives' Club of Chicago, May 8, 1959. Stated that the Free World has refused to understand the nature of communism and the American business community is particularly lax in this respect. Communists inflexibly committed to permanent revolution and to goal of world-wide communist society. Agreements entered into by Kremlin, even if kept, are not binding upon rest of communist apparatus throughout world. Soviet leaders are afraid of an all-out war with the Western powers but do not desire all-out peace. Delusion that we have been at peace is carefully nurtured by communists in order to reduce our vigilance. Communists use technique of compelling Western world to center all its attention on the crisis of the hour, such as Berlin today, thus diverting its mind from the larger pattern. While Free World must keep its military strength at peak, it must also use economic, political, and psychological methods to meet the communist challenge. Mr. Lyons does not refer to the Director or the FBI. Speech supplied by SAC R. D. Auerbach.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

Enclosure

LLN:ola

(6)

1 - Section tickler

1 - [redacted]

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - M. A. Jones

1 - 62-46855

62-46855-
NOT RECORDED
102 JUN 11 1959

b6
b7C

58 JUN 15

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: "SEEING THROUGH THE RED"
SPEECH BY EUGENE LYONS
REVIEW

LYONS SPEAKS ON SOVIET PLAN FOR WORLD CONQUEST

On May 8, 1959, Eugene Lyons, Senior Editor of the Reader's Digest, gave a talk concerning the Soviet formula for world domination before The Executives' Club of Chicago, Illinois. This speech was made available to the Bureau by SAC R. D. Auerbach through the medium of the Executives' Club News, dated May 15, 1959, a copy of which is enclosed. The Executives' Club of Chicago is a group of over three thousand businessmen who frequently sponsor prominent speakers at luncheon meetings of the club. Among those who have appeared as guest speakers at the forums are Harry S. Truman, former President of the United States; Stuart Symington, U. S. Senator from Missouri; James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor; Harold R. Medina, Judge, U. S. Court of Appeals; and Dr. Konrad Adenauer, West German Chancellor. (94-1-12563-29)

The Director and the FBI are not mentioned in Lyons' speech.

FREE WORLD REFUSES TO UNDERSTAND NATURE OF COMMUNISM

Lyons emphasized that the great majority of the free peoples of the world have refused to understand the real nature of the communist challenge, and the American business community has been particularly vulnerable on this score. In this connection, he pointed to financier Cyrus Eaton as one of the foremost preachers of appeasement of communism today. Lyons referred to the pressure applied by financial and business interests for diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia in the thirties, the aid of thousands of foreign technicians (many of them Americans) for Stalin's first five-year plan, and the cordial reception universally given by American businessmen to Anastas Mikoyan, Soviet Deputy Premier, on his recent visit to the United States.

KREMLIN PLAYS DUAL ROLE

In speaking of negotiations with the Soviets, Lyons said that for the communists, negotiation is not and never can be a road to genuine accommodation--that they are inflexibly committed to permanent revolution with one communist world as its goal. The Kremlin plays a dual role--that of heading a conventional government, and at the same time as the spearhead of a world revolutionary movement. Agreements entered into by Moscow in its role as a government, even

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: "SEEING THROUGH THE RED"
SPEECH BY EUGENE LYONS
REVIEW

if they were kept, are not binding upon its world-wide apparatus of communist parties, fellow travelers, and para-military formations. Lyons believes that the Western Governments must stand firm in the present talks over the Berlin crisis and give absolutely no concessions to the Soviets, or the independence of West Berlin will be "chiseled away."

SOVIETS AFRAID OF ALL-OUT WAR

According to Lyons, the Soviet leaders are ruthless but are not suicidal maniacs and actually fear a real war even more than the Western powers. They have to reckon with the possibility of rebellion in the satellites and they can not count the allegiance of their own subjects as a certainty especially if the conflict took an unfavorable turn. He decried the assumption by three-week tourists to Russia that the Russian people are fervently behind the regime and stated that the Iron Curtain isn't there to keep us out but to keep the Russians in. After 42 years of absolute power, the Soviet dictatorship still doesn't risk the slightest freedom of speech and press and must continue to seal its frontiers against outside news and ideas by jamming and censorship and medieval punishments.

PEACE PROPOSALS A MANEUVER BY SOVIETS

While the Kremlin does not desire to unleash an all-out war, neither does it want all-out peace. The ultimate objectives of world communism call for class struggle, civil wars where they can be fomented, constant world tension and chaos. Lyons says that the delusion that we have been, and are now, at peace, is carefully nurtured by the communists in order to reduce our vigilance and disarm us psychologically. He describes this maneuver as a "species of revolutionary jiu-jitsu that enabled the communist world, even when it was small and weak, to throw the vastly larger and stronger non-Soviet world."

DEADLY TECHNIQUE

One of the most deadly of communist techniques has been to compel the Western powers to center all their attention on the crisis of the hour, diverting their minds from the larger pattern. Today, it is Berlin, but there is also communist infiltration into the Middle East, the Red Chinese build-up against Formosa, and systematic communist penetration into all the newly independent and politically immature African countries, in India and Indonesia, and in places as far apart as the Southern Pacific and the Caribbean area.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

RE: "SEEING THROUGH THE RED"
SPEECH BY EUGENE LYONS
REVIEW

FREE WORLD'S GOAL

Lyons asserts that while it is only common sense to maintain our military vitality at peak strength that is not enough to win the battle against the communists. Communism scored its greatest triumphs in the years when the Free World held overwhelming military superiority. Its advantage lies on other levels--in its superior grasp of the total historic pictures, its zeal and consistency, and its unswerving drive to a definite goal. The Free World's goal should be just as definite, as clearly formulated, as openly proclaimed--"namely to roll back and defeat communism, liberating the victims and freeing the rest of mankind from the incubus of the Red nightmare." We must use economic, political, and psychological methods to meet the communist challenge. Lyons concludes by saying,

"We can intensify the tides of mutiny in the Red slave-states. We can exploit every Soviet vulnerability, expose communist crimes and cruelties, puncture communist lies and indict communist imperialism. We can mobilize the forces of morality and decency on both sides of the Iron and Bamboo Curtains and turn man's inherent hunger for freedom and individual dignity into weapons for liberation." (Executives' Club News, May 22, 1959, p. 8)

of fundamental policies, to the articulation of shared interests, and to the investigation of the conditions for securing such policies and interests. The task, in its preliminary aspects, is one of stock-taking, of ascertaining and assessing with as much explicitness and specificity as possible, by utilizing all the insights and operational techniques offered by the contemporary social sciences, the policies actually sought and effectively applied by different decision-makers in their external interactions. From such stock-taking might emerge a map, as it were, of the configurations of public order that in fact presently obtain on a transnational scale. In its fullness, the task involved has been aptly described:

(1) to develop a jurisprudence, a comprehensive theory and appropriate methods of inquiry, which will assist the peoples of the world to distinguish public orders based on human dignity and public orders based either on a law which denies human dignity or a denial of law itself for the simple supremacy of naked force; and (2) to invent and recommend the authority structures and functions (principles and procedures) necessary to a world public order that harmonizes with the growing aspirations of the overwhelming numbers of the peoples of the globe and is in accord with the proclaimed values of human dignity enunciated by the moral leaders of mankind.¹⁸

This is the more precise statement of the challenging opportunity thrust upon scholars of international law. It is hoped that with or without further harassment, Mr. Jenks may turn his very considerable powers to the fuller exploitation of this opportunity.

FLORENTINO P. FELICIANO†

MASTERS OF DECEIT. By J. Edgar Hoover. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958. Pp. 374. \$5.00.

WORKS such as the collage, African primitivist statuary, the canvasses of Jackson Pollack, and the finger painting of talented monkeys have revived debate recently over the classic problem of aesthetics—what is Art? Philosophers have noted that there are at least three analytical perspectives from which one can approach this question—the intention of the artist, the intrinsic merits of the work, and the subjective reaction of the viewer—and that one's judgment about a controversial work usually will depend upon one's vantage point. Although this seems a singularly inapposite opening for a review of J. Edgar Hoover's best-selling volume on communism, I find these exceedingly helpful terms in which to consider *Masters of Deceit*.

Hoover deals with five topics. He describes the personalities and doctrines of international communism from the days of Marx and Engels to the present,

18. McDougal & Lasswell, *The Identification and Appraisal of Diverse Systems of Public Order*, 53 AM. J. INT'L L. 1, 28 (1959).

†Research Associate and Lecturer, Yale Law School.

The Yale Law Journal, April, 1959.

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a description which includes a sketch of early American communists. He discusses communism's appeal to certain Americans and why most of these people have broken with the theory or the party. The contemporary American Communist Party is portrayed in its "open" activities and, in a separate section, in its underground operations. Finally, Hoover offers a refutation of the "false religion" of communism and presents a brief program for insuring that Americans "stay free."

The Author's Intention

Why, in 1958, did Hoover choose to write this book, and at its specific level? In his foreword, the author tells us that, since 1919 (when he made his initial "extensive and penetrating study" of the communist movement), he has been a close observer of communist ideas and activities. Now, he felt, it was vital to give the American public, without "sensationalism," the "basic, everyday facts of communism," presented "in almost primer form." Since Hoover describes Communist Party literature in the United States as "written in a simple style and slanted to the average reader," *Masters of Deceit* may be taken as an attempt to fight fire with fire.

His intention explains a good deal about the tone and flow of the volume. For example, the narrative of "day-to-day" life in the American Communist Party features passages such as the following:

Eleanor is washing the dishes. Her husband, Henry, has just gone to work. The two children are scurrying around the house, ready to leave for school.

Suddenly, there is a knock at the door. It is Ruth, who lives across the street. Ruth is chairman of the East Side Communist Club. Her husband, Robert, is state secretary of the Communist Party and a full-time paid functionary.

"Starting the day out just right," smiles Ruth. "The kitchen is all cleaned up. You can come and help us."¹

Portraits of the personalities who shaped the communist tradition are in the same genre. Here, for example, is Hoover on Marx:

He was an intelligent child, but temperamental. At school his marks were superior, and his capacity for work, a trait that was to continue all through his life, tremendous. But he did not make friends easily, perhaps because of self-pride. He made arrogant remarks and wrote satirical verse. He was a "smart" young man, but already vain, bitter, and rebellious.

Strangely, his heart held an inner love for a home-town girl, Jenny von Westphalen. . . . She was beautiful, charming, and of a socially high rank, much higher than that of the Marx family. She, too, was desperately in love, but she feared to tell her parents. What would they think—the daughter of Privy Councillor Ludwig von Westphalen marrying Karl Marx?²

1. P. 147.

2. P. 14.

Those who might wonder whether Marxist-Leninist theory lends itself to "primer" form will find this author equal to the challenge. Marx, he explains, "joined two very old ideas:"

(1) That everything in the universe, whether a blade of grass, a human being, or society itself, is constantly changing and at the same time is in conflict. This is called *dialectics*. (2) That God doesn't exist and the world is composed of "living" matter. Hence, man is walking dust, without spark or image of his divine Creator. This idea is called *materialism*; hence, *dialectical materialism*.³

Whether Hoover struggled through draft after draft to produce these simple sentences, filled with simple thoughts for simple people, or whether they tripped effortlessly from his pen, we cannot know. We do know that he eschewed the services of a polished ghost writer; that he set himself to write a primer and that no literary critic is likely to question this self-description. Sophisticates who no longer find McGuffey's sentence structure as challenging as they did in earlier years will not derive æsthetic satisfaction from these pages. They, however, do not compose the audience for which the author has written his book.

The Work's Intrinsic Merits

When primers are written about politics, however, literary quality is only one issue involved. More fundamental is the question whether the popularization has escaped the dangers of oversimplification. The author has not been altogether successful in this regard. For example, he outlines the theories of Marx and Engels but does not explain why these doctrines held so much appeal for the European radical through whom they entered the Western intellectual tradition. Hoover seems to imply that the emergence of communism was the result of a conspiracy. When he describes the coming of the Soviet Revolution, his focus is upon the small band of men who seized power in a mammoth state. Conspiracy is stressed to the exclusion of historical ripeness, war exhaustion, the ineffectiveness of the Kerensky government, and the like. In describing events after 1919, he makes no mention of conflicts or modifications between the doctrines of Lenin and those of Marx, or between Stalin and Marx, or of socialists and Stalinists. It is as though Marxism were a single intellectual stream, without deviation or internal disagreement among those who embrace it.

Where these simplifications can lead is shown in several of Hoover's comments about current matters. Because he does not consider the nature of the revolutionary situation, he can make much of the point that at times the American Communist Party has had as many members as there were Bolsheviks when they seized power. And there is a table showing how few Communist Party members there were in relation to the total population of such countries as Albania and Hungary when they came under communist sway.

3. P. 18.

At least some readers will wonder whether this presentation adequately distinguishes between, on the one hand, the capacity of communist parties to seize power when social disintegration has occurred or when Soviet troops are present and, on the other, the capacities of the communists when national populations are alert to communist tactics and the social systems are basically healthy. Obviously, the existence of one situation rather than the other has significant implications for the choice of communist control policies in a democratic society. Again, Hoover gives the impression that the advances of communism in the past decades have resulted solely from the spread of a cancerous doctrine. Some readers will feel that an adequate treatment would have to apportion responsibility among Russian expansion, the example of Soviet industrial and military progress (however brutally achieved), the appeal of the Soviet egalitarian myth among nonwhite peoples, the failings and frequent missteps of opposition among Western powers, and similar factors with which communist doctrine has interacted. In short, Hoover's doctrinal discussion prepares readers more for debate along the Potomac than for the ideological clash which is actually raging beyond our shoreline.

Since Hoover has access to what probably are the best archives in the non-Soviet world on the American Communist Party, as it exists above and below ground, many readers will look to these sections as the most promising in any book authored by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. And certain discussions of these topics—for example, Hoover's account of how a typical "Committee to Save John Doe" is manipulated by communist activists, and of how an opportunistic labor leader in the Midwest is brought into collaboration with the Party—are quite interesting. At one point, in telling about persons who are "concealed communists" passing themselves off as liberals, Hoover describes (but does not name) several persons whose identity will be immediately apparent to anyone familiar with the *causes célèbres* of recent years—for instance, "the editor-in-chief of a conservative book-publishing house,"⁴ and "the program director of a television station in a large Southern city."⁵ Assuming, as I do, that Hoover's information is accurate, this unequivocal identification is an intriguing footnote to those episodes.

Yet, even in these pages, the unidimensional quality of the accounts and the arguable assumptions which Hoover drops will doubtless invite dissent. For example, he quotes the estimates "of communist leaders themselves" that for every Communist Party member in the United States, "ten others are ready, willing, and able to do the Party's work."⁶ This assertion, which Hoover has quoted often at FBI appropriation hearings before Congress in the past decade, raises two substantial issues. First of all, its numerical basis was nothing but myth in 1958 when Hoover chose to give the figures new currency in this book. Whatever may have been the fact when Earl Browder made the obviously self-serving ten-for-one boast, such "popular front" days have disappeared

4. P. 87.

5. P. 88.

6. P. 5.

since, at the very latest, the Korean War period, and probably since 1948. That Hoover did not see the need to discard or revise this estimate is disquieting. Second, Hoover's assumption accepts the *communist* definition of allies, a remarkably unsafe technique and one which ignores the meaning of such alliances on the American scene. In point of fact, fellow travelers have shown a steady disposition to treat the communists like disease carriers whenever world events disclose the true nature of communism—during the Soviet purge trials, the Nazi-Soviet Pact, the rape of Czechoslovakia, the Korean aggression, the Hungarian repression, and the like. At each point, and at every moment of deep crisis in United States-Soviet relations, the temporary nature of the American fellow traveler's adhesion to communism has been demonstrated, as with Henry Wallace's full repudiation of the communists in 1950 over Korea. Of course, popular-front movements serve to widen communist influence and to muddy the lines between liberalism, progressivism, and communism. But it is a mistake to talk as though ten or seven or even two fellow travelers per party member are simply glass-eyed zombies, under complete control on all issues and at all times, as Hoover implies. This picture simply tortures reality and even conflicts with Hoover's own description of how frequently people break from the "communist spell."

Viewed according to its intrinsic merits, then, *Masters of Deceit* is a study in equilibrium. For each issue that is simplified by Hoover's approach, a corresponding issue is raised by the simplification and left unanswered. Since any work which stirs the high school student and the adult primer-reader to thought about politics is a useful contribution, Hoover's text is welcome. To the extent that it is treated as Truth rather than Opinion, however, or that Hoover's special expertise in dealing with national security matters as a law-enforcement officer is taken to equip him for political analysis, *Masters of Deceit* is a misleading volume. Certainly, in comparison with another recent "primer" on the communist problem, Harry and Bonaro Overstreet's *What We Must Know About Communism*,⁷ Hoover's book must be rated as distinctly inferior in quality.

The Subjective Reaction of the Reader

This viewer has already provided decidedly subjective reactions, of course, but there is still another judgment about this book which should be offered as a personal response. The volume tells us much about the author himself, a matter of importance in light of his national responsibility. *Masters of Deceit* is the first of Hoover's books to deal with a subject other than criminal detection. Its pages provide an important contrast with the picture of the FBI director that tends to emerge from his statements at appropriation time or from his testimony before congressional committees on matters relating to communist-control legislation. In those moments, Hoover emerges as a man of the political right, or, at the least, as a "tough-on-communism" figure whose

7. Published by W. W. Norton & Co., 1958.

efforts are directed at thwarting those civil libertarians who call for restraints on the internal-security programs. While there have already been some indications of Hoover's more circumspect qualities,⁸ *Masters of Deceit* serves as an opportunity for him to enunciate his ideas about democracy, civil liberty, communism, and similar topics in full blown fashion. The effect is to present an image of a man who is much closer to the American center, perhaps even the liberal center, than most liberals assume. For example, Hoover emphatically states that opposition to anticommunist measures is part of everyone's right to free speech and does not create any imputation of communist inclination; that there is a clear line between socialists, who are democrats, and communists, who are not; that most Americans who stumbled into the Communist Party did so out of such motives as a desire for reform, rebellion in the face of discrimination against their minority groups, or similar reasons which deserve sympathetic understanding; and that society should help, not attack, former communists if America is to benefit by attracting back to our values those talented and useful people who have succumbed to the "communist spell." While deploring the way in which intellectuals have been lured into the Communist Party in the past, Hoover underscores the fact that the future of America's resistance to communism lies with the "free world's intellectuals," since it is they who must convince men of the superiority of liberal values.

In his chapter on communism and minorities, Hoover pens a strong endorsement of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and denounces those who try to assert that the NAACP is "communist controlled" or "communist inclined." In his chapter on Jewish groups, he denounces the canard that Jews have a peculiar susceptibility to communism. Because numerous Communist Party leaders claim a Jewish origin, Hoover notes, "does not . . . make them Jews, any more than William Z. Foster's Catholic background and Earl Browder's Protestant background give them standing in any present-day Catholic and Protestant communities in the United States."⁹ In one passage which is worth quoting in detail, Hoover warns against Know-Nothing anticommunism:

[W]e must be absolutely certain that our fight is waged with full regard for the historic liberties of this great nation. *This is the fundamental premise of any attack against communism.*

Too often I have seen cases where loyal and patriotic but misguided Americans have thought they were "fighting communism" by slapping the label of "Red" or "communist" on anybody who happened to be different from them or to have ideas with which they did not agree.

Smears, character assassination, and the scattering of irresponsible charges have no place in this nation. They create division, suspicion, and

8. Hoover, *Breaking the Communist Spell*, Am. Mercury, March 1954, pp. 57-61; Hoover, *The Role of the F.B.I. in the Federal Employee Security Program*, 49 NW. U.L. REV. 333 (1954); Hoover, *Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement: The Role of the F.B.I.*, 37 IOWA L. REV. 175 (1952).

9. P. 255.

distrust among loyal Americans—just what the communists want—and hinder rather than aid the fight against communism.

Another thing. Time after time in this book I have mentioned that honest dissent should not be confused with disloyalty. A man has a right to think as he wishes: that's the strength of our form of government. Without free thought our society would decay.¹⁰

Other points which deserve notation in this regard are his discussion of the role of the FBI in disproving false charges levelled in the loyalty program, and his warnings against the dangers both of a national police force and of an FBI with evaluative powers. In his concluding section, Hoover warns that a negative attitude toward the communist issue is highly dangerous; democrats, he affirms, must be for something positive. In stressing such matters as social welfare and protection of individual dignity as the things we must be for, and must progress toward, he has closed on a note which many liberals can endorse.

It should be carefully noted, of course, that Hoover does not always apply his principles in a fashion which would bring unanimous applause from civil libertarians and his democratic credo has a few aspects, such as his stress upon religion as *the* foundation of democracy, to the exclusion of humanist or social-democratic bases, which will discomfit some readers. Nevertheless, the dominant picture which this book projects is that of a balanced and fair-minded man, one who may see more shadows in the land than others can always find but, withal, a man who mostly sees human beings and their human condition.

Viewed from this third perspective, *Masters of Deceit* should be a generally reassuring book for many who have been troubled about J. Edgar Hoover's ideology. Since he was not placed in office as a literary spokesman, we need not feel discomfited if his prose leaves much to be desired. Since he was not installed as our national political theorist, or as political historian of the American Communist Party, we can look to more trained and judicious writers for our volumes on these matters. Hoover holds office as chief of the nation's investigative bureau, and *Masters of Deceit* reveals a police officer with a high sense of fidelity to democratic ideals, one who will stand comparison with police officials in any foreign country or American state. In our society, he operates under standards set not by his own fiat but by the majority-will agencies of the nation—Congress and the President. If he at times influences these standards by what he urges upon the Congress or the President, he does so with the specialist's zeal, much as the soldier urges maximum weapons and the scientist maximum research expenditures. The wise policy for those critics who admit the necessity for some security measures (as for some weapons and some research) would seem to be opposition to Hoover's overextensions. At least, it seems to this writer that defenders of free speech sometimes appear to be angered that Hoover speaks his mind at all, rather than that he advocates particular measures. And his critics do not always take care to separate

10. P. 312.

Hoover's positions, as he enunciates them, from those of the McCarthyites who rush to praise Hoover but do not take his counsels of moderation.

In short, *Masters of Deceit* is most useful in showing how closely Hoover embodies the virtues and the vices of political man in our semipopulist democracy. He stops thinking at a point where the leaders and the led in our time have also struck a position of repose. We could have had far worse in an FBI Director and, given our society as it is rather than as the poets would have it, we may have done well indeed.

ALAN F. WESTIN†

†Assistant Professor of Government, Cornell University.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

FROM : S. B. Donahoe

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Donahoe
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Cotter
1 - Mr. Nasca
1 - G. W. Gunn

DATE: July 23, 1959

DeLoach
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W.C. Sullivan

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SUBJECT: "FIDEL CASTRO"
REVIEW OF BOOK WRITTEN
BY JULES DUBOIS

O Book Reviews

ADP:KLP

There follows a review of the book written by Jules Dubois of the "Chicago Tribune" under the title "Fidel Castro: Rebel - Liberator or Dictator?" This book was published by Bobbs-Merrill and was issued in April, 1959.

In substance, the book outlines the background and career of Castro and traces the origin, progress, and ultimate success of his revolutionary July 26 Movement which overthrew the Batista dictatorship in January. While factual in many respects -- the book quotes at length from various speeches and articles of Castro as well as from other documentary material -- Dubois betrays a definite pro-Castro bias throughout. He has apparently relied almost entirely on Castro supporters for his material and has accepted statements of Castro and his followers at face value with little or no effort to critically evaluate them. In part, this uncritical approach may stem from fact that book was obviously written and edited on crash basis in order to capitalize on sudden public interest in Castro. But Dubois clearly indicates he considers Castro to be an heroic figure, and he has consistently minimized the procommunist flavor of the Castro regime and lightly dismissed other failings of the new Cuban government.

It is not surprising that Dubois would write favorably regarding Castro since latter has given him privileged treatment in form of exclusive interviews and following overthrow of Batista, designated Dubois as his personal emissary to Cuban newspaper publishers to discuss resumption of free press. Less understandable is the author's evident rancor against the U.S. State Department and Ambassadors Arthur Gardner and Earl Smith who are criticized every turn for alleged approval of Batista dictatorship and lack of concern for Cuban people. In spite of Castro's prolonged delay in holding elections, Dubois terms him a "sincere idealist" who is devoted to constitutional and democratic government. According to the author, the Cuban Prime Minister is not unfriendly to the U.S. despite all evidence to the contrary. Regarding the widely criticized executions of Batista officials, including military officers, which

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Memorandum Donahoe to Belmont
Re: "FIDEL CASTRO"
REVIEW OF BOOK WRITTEN
BY JULES DUBOIS

occurred following Castro's success, Dubois claims only that "revolutionary justice is always one-sided and the Cuba of Castro was no exception."

As regards communist infiltration and influence in the Castro Government, the book concedes the "leftist" nature of many of Castro's top advisors but insists the communists will not be able to capture Castro, although the basis for this optimism is not clear. In response to charges that Raul Castro and "Che" Guevara, two of the principal figures in the new regime, are procommunist and anti-U.S., Dubois quotes these individuals as denying communist membership as though that settled the issue. No denial is made of their anti-U.S. attitudes.

There follows several examples which illustrate the author's willingness to overlook inconvenient facts in his appraisal of Castro:

1. In discussing Castro's background, Dubois reports that Castro proved himself a skillful politician even in his student days at the University of Havana. According to the book, Castro "wangled" communist support for his candidacy as vice president of the student body, but, once elected, began a militant campaign against them.

Comment: Aside from portraying Castro as a blatant opportunist, this passage is not supported by best information available to Bureau.

Referral/Direct

Castro's [redacted]
whose identity should be protected, has advised that Castro [redacted]

2. Dubois characterizes Colonel Alberto Bayo, Castro's military advisor and instructor in the pre-revolution days, as an "anticommunist, anti-Franco fighter for freedom."

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Memorandum Donahoe to Belmont
Re: "FIDEL CASTRO"
REVIEW OF BOOK WRITTEN
BY JULES DUBOIS

Comment: Bufiles reflect that Bayo, who served with Republican forces during Spanish Civil War, has been a professional revolutionary for many years. In April, 1959, State Department ruled that he was ineligible to receive a visa to enter U.S. in view of his "widespread" involvement in revolutionary activities.

3. Book reports that during 1955 Castro appointed Juan Manuel Marquez to head his underground movement in Miami and in 1956 designated Marquez as second in command of July 26 Movement.

Comment: During March, 1956, confidential source abroad [redacted] advised that [redacted]

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Referral/Consult

4. Under heading "Acknowledgments" Dubois cites a number of individuals who furnished "valuable information" in preparation of book. This list includes [redacted] and [redacted]

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5. In writing of the arrival of Castro's conquerors in Havana on New Year's Day, Dubois described the courteous, respectful and sober actions of the soldiers.

Comment: When Fidel Castro visited the U.S. in April, 1959, he brought his handpicked entourage. [redacted]

ACTION:

Referral/Direct

None. For your information.

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Crew
NAP
V.

Mr. DeLoach

July 15, 1959

M. A. Jones

**"MASTERS OF DECEIT," BOOK REVIEW
IN "THE YALE LAW JOURNAL" APRIL, 1959,
BY ALAN F. WESTIN, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR
OF GOVERNMENT, CORNELL UNIVERSITY**

SYNOPSIS:

O Book Review

Above-captioned law review contains extensive review of "Masters of Deceit" by Alan F. Westin, Assistant Professor of Government, Cornell University. Review contains some harsh critical comments, but also speaks favorably of book. Chief criticism of "Masters of Deceit" is that its style is "simple" and that in some instances political theories and facts are oversimplified. Westin talks about "simple sentences, filled with simple thoughts for simple people," adding that the Director set himself to write a primer and that no literary critic is likely to question this self-description. In regard to communist theory, Westin feels Director has stressed the conspiratorial aspect of communism too much, overlooking such historical facts as war exhaustion, the ineffectiveness of the Kerensky government, etc. Likewise Westin comments that "Masters of Deceit" gives the impression that the advances of communism have resulted solely from spread of a cancerous doctrine. Westin feels other factors, such as Soviet industrial and military progress, should have been stressed. "In short, Hoover's doctrinal discussion prepares readers more for debate along the Potomac than for the ideological clash which is actually raging beyond our shoreline." Westin more favorably impressed with sections dealing with communist underground, yet, even here, "the unidimensional quality of the accounts and the arguable assumptions which Hoover drops will doubtless invite dissent." Westin critical of Director's use of estimates of Party leaders that for every Party member in the United States, ten others are ready, willing and able to do the Party's work. Based on its intrinsic merits, Westin feels that "Masters of Deceit" though oversimplifying many issues, is a useful contribution for the high school student and adult primer-reader. Feels, however, that "Masters of Deceit" is distinctly inferior in quality to the Overstreet book, "What We Can Learn from Communism."

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sets forth some personal reactions, saying the book provides an important insight with the picture of the FBI Director which tends to emerge from his statements to Congressional committees on appropriations or matters relating to communist-control legislation. "In those moments, Hoover emerges

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Jones to DeLoach
Re: "Masters of Deceit"

as a man of the political right, or, at ^{the} least, as a 'tough-on-communism' figure whose efforts are directed at thwarting those civil libertarians who call for restraints on the internal-security programs." The image presented by "Masters of Deceit" is, however, of a "man who is much closer to the American center, perhaps even the liberal center, than most liberals assume." Westin approves of many positions taken by Mr. Hoover in the book such as warning against the dangers of national police, ^{an} an FBI with evaluative powers; the right of free speech; etc. "...the dominant picture which this book projects is that of a balanced and fair-minded man, one who may see more shadows in the land than others can always find but, withal, a man who mostly sees human beings and their human condition." Westin summarizes his position in final two paragraphs of review stating "we could have had far worse in an FBI Director and, given our society as it is rather than as the poets would have it, we may have done well indeed."

Bufiles reflect [REDACTED]

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RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Jones to DeLoach
Re: "Masters of Deceit"

DETAILS:

The above-captioned law review contains a rather extensive review of "Masters of Deceit."

After a brief introduction in which Westin sketches the main topics which "Masters of Deceit" covers, he analyzes the book under the following headings:

The Author's Intention

Westin makes mention of Mr. Hoover's comment that "Masters of Deceit" was written "in almost primer form." In fact, he is critical of the simplicity of the style. He talks about "simple sentences, filled with simple thoughts for simple people," and adds that the Director set himself to write a primer and that no literary critic is likely to question this self-description: "Sophisticates who no longer find McGuffey's sentence structure as challenging as they did in earlier years will not derive aesthetic satisfaction from these pages. They, however, do not compose the audience for which the author has written his book."

The Work's Intrinsic Merits

More important than literary style, however, are the dangers that popularization may result in oversimplicity. Westin is critical in this regard, saying, for example, that Mr. Hoover has oversimplified communist theory and the historical factors surrounding the events of 1917-1919. According to Westin, conspiracy is stressed to the exclusion of historical ripeness, war exhaustion, the ineffectiveness of the Kerensky government, etc. No mention, he says, is made of conflicts or modifications of Marxism as preached by Marx and later by Lenin and Stalin.

Jones to DeLoach
Re: "Masters of Deceit"

These "simplifications," Westin points out, affect Mr. Hoover's comments about current matters. Since the Director "does not consider the nature of the revolutionary situation," his statements concerning the small number of communists in a country in relation to the total population in regard to the seizure of state power, are not fully valid. "At least some readers will wonder whether this presentation adequately distinguishes between, on the one hand, the capacity of communist parties to seize power when social disintegration has occurred or when Soviet troops are present, and, on the other, the capacities of the communists when national populations are alert to communist tactics and the social systems are basically healthy. Obviously, the existence of one situation rather than the other has significant implications for the choice of communist control policies in a democratic society."

Again, according to Westin, Mr. Hoover gives the impression that the advances of communism in the past have resulted solely from the spread of a cancerous doctrine. Westin feels the factors such as the example of Soviet industrial and military progress, the appeal of the Soviet egalitarian myth among nonwhite peoples, should have been mentioned. "In short, Hoover's doctrinal discussion prepares readers more for debate along the Potomac than for the ideological clash which is actually raging beyond our shoreline."

Westin is more favorably impressed with the sections of "Masters of Deceit" dealing with the communist underground. Yet, even here, "the unidimensional quality of the accounts and the arguable assumptions which Hoover drops will doubtless invite dissent." He is critical of the Director's use of estimates of party leaders that for every party member in the United States, ten others are ready, willing, and able to do the party's work. Westin says the numerical basis of this statement in 1958 was "nothing but myth," since these statistics obviously come from the "popular front days." Also, he says, by using the statement Mr. Hoover "accepts the communist definition of allies, a remarkably unsafe technique and one which ignores the meaning of such alliances on the American scene." In Westin's thinking, fellow travelers are often highly unreliable and hence the Director's comments are unrealistic.

Westin comments:

"Viewed according to its intrinsic merits, then, "Masters of Deceit" is a study in equilibrium. For each issue that is simplified by Hoover's approach, a corresponding issue is raised by the simplification and left

Jones to DeLoach
Re: "Masters of Deceit"

unanswered. Since any work which stirs the high school student and the adult primer-reader to thought about politics is a useful contribution, Hoover's text is welcome. To the extent that it is treated as Truth rather than Opinion, however, or that Hoover's special expertise in dealing with national security matters as a law-enforcement officer is taken to equip him for political analysis, 'Masters of Deceit' is a misleading volume. Certainly, in comparison with another recent 'primer' on the communist problem, Harry and Bonaro Overstreet's 'What We Must Know About Communism,' Hoover's book must be rated as distinctly inferior in quality."

The Subjective Reaction of the Reader

Under this heading Westin sets forth some personal reactions. "Masters of Deceit," he says, tells much about Mr. Hoover, "a matter of importance in light of his national responsibility." The book provides an important contrast with the picture of the FBI Director which tends to emerge from his statements to congressional committees on appropriations or matters relating to communist-control legislation. "In those moments, Hoover emerges as a man of the political right, or, at least, as a 'tough-on-communism' figure whose efforts are directed at thwarting those civil libertarians who call for restraints on the internal-security programs." "Masters of Deceit," however, gives him an opportunity to enunciate his ideas about democracy, civil liberty, communism, etc. "The effect is to present an image of a man who is much closer to the American center, perhaps even the liberal center, than most liberals assume." Among positions taken by Mr. Hoover which Westin views favorably are: that to oppose anticommunist measures is part of the right of free speech and does not create an imputation of communist inclination; that society should help, not attack, former communists; that the intellectuals of the free world have a responsibility in combating communism; warnings against the dangers of a national police and an FBI with evaluative powers; protection of the dignity of the human being.

Although, in Westin's opinion, Mr. Hoover does not always apply his principles in a fashion to bring unanimous applause from civil libertarians, "the dominant picture which this book projects is that of a balanced and fair-minded man, one who may see more shadows in the land than others can always find but, withal, a man who mostly sees human beings and their human condition."

Jones to DeLoach
Re: "Masters of Deceit"

The final two paragraphs are quoted in full as they give Westin's summary of Mr. Hoover as viewed through "Masters of Deceit":

"Viewed from this third perspective, 'Masters of Deceit' should be a generally reassuring book for many who have been troubled about J. Edgar Hoover's ideology. Since he was not placed in office as a literary spokesman, we need not feel discomfited if his prose leaves much to be desired. Since he was not installed as our national political theorist, or as political historian of the American Communist Party, we can look to more trained and judicious writers for our volumes on these matters. Hoover holds office as chief of the nation's investigative bureau, and 'Masters of Deceit' reveals a police officer with a high sense of fidelity to democratic ideals, one who will stand comparison with police officials in any foreign country or American state. In our society, he operates under standards set not by his own fiat but by the majority-will agencies of the nation -- Congress and the President. If he at times influences these standards by what he urges upon the Congress or the President, he does so with the specialist's zeal, much as the soldier urges maximum weapons and the scientist maximum research expenditures. The wise policy for those critics who admit the necessity for some security measures (as for some weapons and some research) would seem to be opposition to Hoover's overextensions. At least, it seems to this writer that defenders of free speech sometimes appear to be angered that Hoover speaks his mind at all, rather than that he advocates particular measures. And his critics do not always take care to separate Hoover's positions, as he enunciates them, from those of the McCarthyites who rush to praise Hoover but do not take his counsels of moderation.

"In short, 'Masters of Deceit' is most useful in showing how closely Hoover embodies the virtues and the vices of political man in our semipopulist democracy. He stops thinking at a point where the leaders and the led in our time have also struck a position of repose. We could have had far worse in an FBI Director and, given our society as it is rather than as the poets would have it, we may have done well indeed."

b6
b7c

Jones to DeLoach
Re: "Masters of Deceit"

DATA RE

Bufiles reflect that

A copy of Westin's review is attached.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: July 31, 1959

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: CUBA: ISLAND OF PARADOX
 REVIEW OF BOOK WRITTEN BY
 RUBY HART PHILLIPS
 CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

Tolson
 Belmont
 DeLoach
 McGuire
 Mohr
 Parsons
 Rosen
 Tamm
 Trotter
 W.C. Sullivan
 Tele. Room
 Holloman
 Gandy

Cuba: Island of Paradox by Ruby Hart Phillips is personal history of Cuba by correspondent for The New York Times. It covers revolution of 1933-34, career of former dictator Batista, and successful revolt led by Fidel Castro. Author cites United States diplomatic blundering for rise of anti-American sentiments in Latin America and flatly contradicts Herbert L. Matthews of The New York Times who has attempted to whitewash communist influence in Castro regime. Author declares whether future of Cuba and of all Latin America shall be decided from Moscow is a question in which the United States can and should be the decisive factor.

Cuban Correspondent

Ruby Hart Phillips, the dean of foreign correspondents in Cuba, has just written a book which recognizes the real and urgent communist threat to Cuba. (Cuba: Island of Paradox, McDowell, Obolensky, New York, 1959) Mrs. Phillips is an old hand on the Cuban scene, having spent some 28 years there. She had been an assistant to her husband who was The New York Times correspondent in Cuba. Upon her husband's death in 1937, she became his successor. She wrote Cuban Sideshow in 1935 which dealt with the revolution of 1933-34. As early as 1945, Mrs. Phillips wrote articles for publication which stressed that the Soviet bid for influence in Latin America had made Cuba one of the focal points of communist propaganda in the Western Hemisphere. Bureau files reveal that [redacted]

Enclosure

AWG:aml
 (8)

Book forwarded
 To Bureau Library.

REC- 84

23 AUG 11 1959

- 1-Section tickler
- 1-W. C. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. S. B. Donahoe
- 1-Mr. Cotter
- 1-Mr. Ferris
- 1-[redacted]

SENT DIRECTOR
 7-31-59

CENTRAL RESEARCH

b6
 b7C

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: Cuba: Island of Paradox

Eyewitness Report

This book is a personal history of Cuba seen through the eyes of a foreign correspondent. It deals with three eras of recent Cuban history: the 1933-34 revolt which toppled Gerardo Machado's dictatorship; the career of Cuba's "strongman," Fulgencio Batista; and the successful revolt led by Fidel Castro.

As a personal chronicle of events and episodes in those critical years of Cuban history, the book is absorbing reading. But, the events and episodes are told simply as isolated items and there is too little of the correlation, explanation, interpretation, and editing which could have made for a more cohesive, meaningful picture. Despite this drawback, the book succeeds in scoring some telling points.

Diplomatic Blundering

Mrs. Phillips writes bluntly that rising anti-American sentiment in Latin America is "the harvest being reaped from years of vacillating, hesitant and cowardly policy by the United States government." She says that our objective should be "to weld the Western Hemisphere into a solid bloc through common interests--commercial and political--and the creation of an awareness in Latin America of the need for mutual defence." In her view, the United States is confronted with a problem of survival in the face of a Soviet military conspiracy to gain control of the world by force. She attributes much of the anti-American sentiment in Latin America to the failure of the United States to support and encourage the establishment and maintenance of democracy in those Latin-American nations "where people are striving for participation in their national affairs." (pp. 418-419)

The book is a sharp indictment of United States diplomacy. Mrs. Phillips attacks the "policy... in sending political appointees to Latin America as diplomatic representatives," describing it as "one of the great hindrances to friendly relations with these countries." She is equally upset by the professional diplomat who is too often concerned only with furthering his own career. Mrs. Phillips observes, "He is afraid to express an opinion or take a definite stand on any question in which the United States State Department needs guidance. Unfortunately, his career does not depend upon positive results. Instead, it requires that he make no mistakes; this, in turn, requires that he make no important decisions. 'If I do nothing, I can do nothing wrong!'" (p. 422)

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: Cuba: Island of Paradox

Mrs. Phillips touches a particularly vulnerable spot when she declares, "One of the major reasons for the blunders of the United States Department of State in Latin America--as in the rest of the world--is the lack of accurate information upon which to base its policy...If trouble is brewing he (the ambassador) should know it and know the reasons behind it. The surprise so often expressed by our State Department reflects the incompetence of our representatives in foreign countries." (pp. 422-423)

Sharp Disagreement

Turning to Fidel Castro and his expressed lack of concern about communist influence in Cuba, Mrs. Phillips observes, "What Castro does not realize is that in a small country, determined and dedicated Communists can get control of a surprising number of posts in key positions, thus exerting a disproportionate influence in national affairs. Furthermore, propaganda directed to the uneducated masses is more effective than in the United States and Great Britain, where the educational level makes it difficult for the Communists to win followers by stereotyped arguments." (p. 417)

Perhaps, the most significant contribution this book makes to the current scene is its flat contradiction of another New York Times staffer, Herbert L. Matthews. It will be recalled that in a front-page article in The New York Times of July 16, 1959, Matthews, in effect, attempted a whitewash of the red-tinged Castro regime. The contradiction between these two New York Times correspondents is evident from these samples:

Matthews

"This is not a Communist revolution in any sense of the word and there are no Communists in positions of control..." (The New York Times, 7/16/59, p. 1)

Phillips

"...There is no doubt that the Communists wield tremendous influence in the Castro government and in the labor unions. Their methods of placing men in key posts are extremely effective." (p. 417)

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: Cuba: Island of Paradox

Decisive Factor

Recognizing that communism is a very real threat in Cuba and in the rest of the Western Hemisphere, Mrs. Phillips concludes her book with this sobering thought:

"Whether the future of Cuba and of all Latin America shall be decided from Moscow and not by the countries of this hemisphere themselves is a question in which the United States can and should be the decisive factor."
(p. 425)

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

Demf

[Handwritten signature]

Title of Book "THE FROZEN REVOLUTION"Author Frank GibneyBook Reviews (62-46855)
Central Research Section

This book has come to the attention of the Central Research Section. Without review, a spot check indicates the book relates, or may relate to the responsibilities of the following Sections and/or Divisions. (See "Nature of Book" at bottom of page.)

(Please initial in the appropriate box, and return promptly to the Central Research Section.)

ROUTING

Obtain book
for reviewBook review not
required by this
Section or Division☒ Domestic Intelligence Division☐ Central Research, Room 7627☒ Espionage, Room 2714☐ Internal Security, Room 1509☐ Liaison, Room 7641☐ Name Check, Room 6125 I.B.☐ Nationalities Intelligence, Room 1527☐ Subversive Control, Room 1250☐ Identification Division☐ _____ Section, Room _____☐ Training & Inspection Division☐ _____ Section, Room _____☐ Administrative Division☐ _____ Section, Room _____☐ Files & Communications Division☐ _____ Section, Room _____☐ Investigative Division☐ _____ Section, Room _____☐ Laboratory Division☐ _____ Section, Room _____☐ Crime Records Division☐ _____ Section, Room _____

Nature of Book: "A devastating study of Communism's greatest failure: The New York Times announcement attached.

NOT RECORDED
12 AUG 14 1959

ENCLOSURE

62 AUG 20 1959

62-46855

FILE

Central Research

REC-80

62-46855-26

See attached routing slip

Tolson _____
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 Date 8-12-59

62-4155-26
 ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: August 7, 1959

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: "THE ALTERNATE CASE"
 BOOK BY JOSEPH F. DINNEEN,
 REPORTER ON "BOSTON GLOBE"
 AND FREE-LANCE WRITER
 BOOK REVIEW

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 DeLoach _____
 McGuire _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:Book Reviews

You instructed that we review, as rapidly as possible, captioned book in order that it may be returned to Miriam Ottenberg of the "Evening Star." Book written in first person and although fictional, book is definitely take-off on Brinks case. Narrator goes by name of Jimmy Preston, a crime reporter.

Story deals with activities of two confidence men, Michaels and Kendall. These two and a third ex-con attempt to "shake down" executive by posing as policemen and surprising him in compromising situation with waitress. Man identifies himself as one Farman and persuades con artists to meet him at restaurant next day. Confronting pseudo-detectives at restaurant, he tells them he knows they are not police officers, that he is an auditor at the Denton Transfer Company, that he is carrying a gun and they will listen to his proposition. He persuades men to consider robbing Denton Transfer Company. The three men agree and later contact Tommy Morgan, a leading racketeer in the city. Agreement is reached to stage robbery, but Michaels wants no part of gun play and is counted out. The gang has Chester Harvey contact the auditor known as Farman and map out plans for robbery. Farman's reason for wanting robbery staged is to teach home office a lesson regarding security and protective measures. Subsequently, gang secures equipment to rob Denton Transfer Company.

Meanwhile, Michaels, "cut out" of Denton job, is contacted by ex-con Willie Wiseman, who has cased hotel in view of robbing payroll. Hotel is robbed and immediately thereafter the Denton Transfer Company is robbed. Denton robbery follows same pattern as incidents surrounding Brinks case. After robbery, gang is counting the loot and a radio commentator reports that auditors have ascertained that the gang obtained \$1,200,000. The gang has just counted a total of \$764,328 and immediately feel that Farman, the auditor, must have embezzled "...four hundred grand for himself."

53 AUG 24 1959
 Enclosure

REC-92

62-46855-27

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Rosen

EZT:sfc/grj

(8)

SENT DIRECTOR

10 AUG 21 1959

RESEARCH
 CENTRAL RESEARCH
 62-46855-

Jones to DeLoach memorandum

Police dragnet goes out and numerous criminals are picked up for questioning. Billy Kendall, who participated in Denton Transfer robbery, walks into police station with alibi and convinces Deputy McGarrity that he (Kendall) had nothing to do with the holdup. Kendall mentions having seen Wiseman and another man shortly before Denton robbery and McGarrity, believing the Denton job to be an inside one, asks Kendall to accompany him to the Denton building on possibility that he can identify one of the employees as the man he said he had seen with Wiseman. Arriving at Denton building, Kendall is introduced to an auditor named Floyd Robbins whom Kendall recognizes as the man that he and Michaels tried to "shake down" in hotel room.

FBI enters case since some of loot is Federal funds. Local officials believe Denton robbery staged by same gang which pulled the Styvesant robbery a few years prior. One of the Styvesant holdup men, identified by witnesses, is serving prison sentence and because he has not been "taken care of," he requests to talk to two detectives. Morgan, Kendall and others involved in Denton robbery begin to "sweat" as it appears that individuals involved in Styvesant robbery will be hauled in again and Michaels, a former member of another mob, will probably be questioned and he knows about original plan to rob Denton's. Stabile and Bastone mob is prime suspect and Morgan, Kendall and Harvey decide to dismantle truck used in robbery and plant pieces near Stabile farm.

FBI Agents keeping Stabile and Bastone mob under surveillance and as Federal Statute of Limitations about to run out, U.S. Attorney makes presentment to Grand Jury. Based on rulings of Coplon and Gubechey case regarding wire taps FBI case is destroyed, but FBI decides to continue investigation. Michaels and two other hoods hold up gambling joint, and Morgan hires professional killer who kills one of trio and wounds Michaels. Michaels and Irving Cross decide to leave town.

They are later arrested in Pennsylvania for possession of firearms and while in jail, FBI Agents talk to Michaels. Agents tell Michaels they know he was in on the Denton job, offer him protection and suggest he may collect a part of the reward money. Meanwhile, Kendall approaches Jimmy Preston, narrator

Jones to DeLoach memorandum

of the story, inasmuch as he is also interested in reward money and the State Statute of Limitations is about to run out. Subsequently, at trial, defense attorney decides that if he is unable to break Michaels' story, he will call Kendall to the stand. Michaels has been tutored and trained for the court room appearance, and when defense attorney is about ready to call Kendall to the stand, Morgan and Harvey turn Kendall's estranged wife against him and defense attorney, although doubting guilt of his clients, is afraid to call Kendall to the stand because he fears Kendall's wife will destroy his testimony.

Numerous references to FBI throughout the book, but pages 190 and 191 contain paragraphs which infer that FBI does all the cooperating, most detectives are envious and jealous of FBI Agents and the old-timers would enjoy making a fool of an FBI Agent. Reader who is familiar with Brinks case may doubt whether FBI arrested right men in Brinks case. Book contains page wherein local SAC accepts police officers' judgment, and Kendall who was really in on the robbery stays "...at large, free and unmolested."

Dinneen also author of "Anatomy of Crime" which was fictional take-off on Brinks case and was alternately favorable, impartial and unfavorable to Bureau. [REDACTED]

Dinneen bitter towards Bureau for period, but SAC at Boston advised by letter dated 2-9-54, Dinneen stated he held no malice toward Bureau. [REDACTED] (62-100848)

Letter from Boston Office dated 2-21-56, reflects Dinneen spoke at Communion Breakfast two days prior and praised FBI for work on Brinks case. Dinneen, in his speech, stated that in his opinion there was an "inside man" involved. This book, "The Alternate Case," makes it appear that Dinneen may still hold this belief. In reference to Dinneen's speech, Director noted "I want none of his praise! H." (62-100848)

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

W. J. [unclear]
D
1. Morgan & [unclear] with [unclear] 8/5/59

DETAILS

BACKGROUND:

Memo. Reporter On Boston Globe

You instructed that we review the book entitled "The Alternate Case," written by Joseph F. Dinneen. The book was sent over to us by Miriam Ottenberg of the "Evening Star." As you recall, Miss Ottenberg stated that this book was a take-off on the Brinks case and intimated that the FBI had schooled and tutored certain witnesses. Set forth below is a brief review of the book.

- Summary

GENERAL STORY:

Miss Ottenberg was correct when she stated that the book is a take-off on the Brinks case.

Dinneen writes the novel as seen through his eyes, i. e. the story is told in the first person and the narrator goes by the name Jimmy Preston, a crime reporter on a Bay City newspaper. Although a fictional work, the author builds his story around the Brinks robbery using the case as a nucleus.

The novel centers around the activities of 2 confidence men by the names of Chester H. ("Honey") Michaels and Billy Kendall, both ex-convicts. At the beginning of the story Michaels and Kendall, with the assistance of one Russ Germain, also an ex-convict, are getting ready to set up a "Shake down" episode by using a waitress Rose Moline as bait. Rose works in a restaurant and has "set up" a man to meet her after work. Michaels, Kendall and Germain precede Rose and the man to a hotel where they wait in a room adjoining the room where Rose will lead the man. At a predetermined signal, the 3 ex-cons, posing as police officers, barge into the room and confront the man and Rose in bed. Germain acting as a police Lieutenant orders Rose to get dressed as he is going to take her down to "headquarters."

The man on the bed is led to believe that if he can raise six thousand dollars, he will be let off the "hook." The man gives the con artists his name (which later turns out to be the name of a man already deceased) and tells them that he will meet them at a particular restaurant the following day. Arriving at the restaurant, the man confronts the three pseudo-policemen with the fact that he has checked out their names at the police department that morning and found that no such individuals were on the force. He also confronts them with the fact that as an auditor with the Denton Transfer Company, he is

allowed to carry a weapon which he then displays and advises the three that either they will listen to his proposition or he will put them in jail, and if they get any ideas, he will use the gun right there without fear of being embarrassed or ruined by the previous night's incident.

Explaining to the men that he knows how they can rob the Denton Transfer Company, one of the men confronts him with the possibility that perhaps he wants it robbed to cover up a misappropriation of funds. The auditor will not admit to anything; however, he convinces the three men that the home office needs to be taught a lesson regarding protection of the offices on the Eastern Seaboard. An agreement is finally reached, and the auditor goes his way while the 3 con men go theirs.

After thinking the matter over, the three men decide that this "operation" is too large for them to handle and so they present the plan to Tommy Morgan, controller of all the rackets in the Metropolitan District. Morgan has "...to have a part one way or another in every big-score holdup...." Morgan decides that Germain, Kendall and Michaels will be in on the "job," but Michaels decides that he wants no part of the "heist" inasmuch as he was once involved as a suspect in a killing, and he is afraid to carry a loaded gun. Morgan decides that since Michaels was originally interested in clipping the auditor for six thousand dollars, he pays Michaels six thousand and tells him he is "out" on the Denton Transfer Company job.

The next step is to line up a full crew for the robbery, and to have Chester Harvey, "...crisp and businesslike...ex-convict..." contact the auditor and discuss the various aspects of the robbery and study the layout of the building. Subsequently, the gang members steal a truck; go out of the city to buy guards' uniforms; rehearse the entire operation in an old barn; make timed runs between different points in the city and building to be robbed; purchase some Halloween masks; and secure the rubber-heel soft soled type shoes.

Prior to the robbery of the Denton Transfer Company, Michaels, who has been "cut out" of the Denton job runs into a couple of ex-convicts, one of which is Willie Wiseman, who have "cased" a Bay City hotel in view of stealing the payroll amounting to about forty-five thousand dollars. The 3 men carry out the hotel robbery. The gang lined up to rob the Transfer Company decides that it had better make its move immediately, as "The cops will be busy with this one (the hotel robbery)." On January 19, 1950, the Denton robbery is staged, and the story of the actual robbery follows

much the same pattern as the incidents surrounding the Brinks theft, i. e. the men move in dressed as guards, they wear the Halloween masks; they tie up the tellers in the vault; stuff the money into laundry bags; and disappear into the night.

While the gang is counting the loot which comes to a total of \$764, 328., a news commentator reports over the radio that "A battery of auditors... report that the total amount of money taken by masked bandits... is one million, two hundred thousand dollars." Russ Germain, one of the gang members states, "You mean the guy (referring to the auditor that they had tried to "shake down" in the hotel room) gave us a fast shuffle and took out four hundred grand for himself?"

As different members of the gang are picked up for questioning, Billy Kendall who has acted as an informant for the local police in the past, decides to save the police the trouble of picking him up and presents himself at Deputy McGarrity's office on the morning of January 20. Kendall has the alibi of having been at a movie and leads McGarrity to believe that he (Kendall) had nothing to do with the hold-up. At the same time, Kendall casually mentions the fact that he has recently seen Willie Wiseman about town with another man a few weeks before Christmas; and there had been a rumor among the underworld that "Denton's was ready to go." McGarrity has reached the conclusion that the Denton hold-up was either "... an inside job with outside help or an outside job with inside control." He has reached this conclusion because: "1. Of the four men wearing glasses in the counting cage, the Number One gunman had taken the glasses of the only key man who could give a quick estimate of the amount of money stolen. He was all but blind without them. 2. The gunmen knew enough to take the bill of lading on the last shipment to prolong the confusion. It followed that he must have had inside information." McGarrity asks Kendall to accompany him to the Denton building on the possibility that he may be able to identify the man that he had seen with Wiseman. Arriving at the Denton company, Kendall is introduced to a Floyd Robbins whom Kendall recognizes as the auditor that they previously had tried to shake down, and whom he knows by the name Farman. Kendall flips through the company's identification book on the pretense of identifying the man he had seen with Wiseman. As he flips through it, he runs across a photograph of a man named Donald Farman with the notation "Died September 21, 1949." Farman is the name that was given by Robbins, the auditor in the "shake-down" attempt.

The FBI enters the case inasmuch as some of the loot included "... Federal funds..." By this time, the Denton robbery had reminded some

of the police officials of the Styvesant robbery in which one of the masked bandits sneezed during the robbery and blew off his mask. This bandit was later picked out of a police line^{up} by witnesses and goes by the name of Anthony Stabile. He is serving 12 to 15 years and has refused to "sing". However, he has started "...to burn..." because his friends have spent no money, politically, to have his sentence reduced, thus making him eligible for parole. Two detectives are sent to talk to Stabile but no information is given out concerning the subject discussed. All of the gang begins to "sweat" as the members of the Stabile mob are likely to be hauled in again, and among the members is "Honey" Michaels who knows about the original plan to rob Denton's. Inasmuch as the Stabile mob has been picked as a hot suspect, Morgan, Kendall and Harvey decide to cut up the truck used in the robbery and plant the pieces of it near Stabile's farm. This is done, and "...within an hour (after the pieces are discovered) state detectives and FBI Agents were crawling all over the place."

As the story continues, FBI Agents are keeping their eyes on all members of the Stabile and Bastone mob. Finally, the Statute of Limitations is about to run out, and six weeks before the expiration date, the United States Attorney makes a presentment to the Grand Jury. A large part of the FBI's case is made up of wire-tap and tape-recorded testimony of conversations between "Honey" Michaels and another hoodlum, and in these conversations they have been referring to "the big heist" which is actually the hotel robbery, but could apply just as well to the Denton job. However, the decisions "...by a New York Federal judge--ruling on the cases of Judith Coplon and Valentine Gubechev--who held that the FBI had no right to tap phones or record testimony..." destroys the FBI's case. Although the Statute of Limitations has run, the FBI decides to carry on the investigation. Although this is a reflection on the Bay City Police Department, their attitude is "They're (the FBI) asking for it...let them have it."

As time goes by the FBI continues to keep the members of the Bastone and Stabile mob under surveillance. "Honey" Michaels and two other hoods, running out of money, decide to stick up 6 gambling joints. Morgan decides to hire "Burp-gun McGuirk," a psychotic killer, a former paratrooper and expert professional assassin with a machine gun. McGuirk kills one of the robbery trio and wounds "Honey" Michaels. McGuirk is later apprehended but is aided in an escape from jail by Irving Cross, who is an expert locksmith. Michaels is afraid of being killed by the mob, Irving Cross becomes "hot" because of his reputation of being good at opening locks and so Michaels and Cross decide to "disappear." By this time, from all outward indications, Michaels is wanted

again for questioning in connection with the Denton Transfer robbery. While Michaels and Cross are driving through Pennsylvania, they are stopped by a motorcycle patrolman for possession and transportation of firearms which they recently stole from a sporting-goods store. They are held in a small town jail and soon FBI Agents arrive to talk to Michaels. The Agents advise Michaels that they know he was in Denton's on the night of the robbery and advise him that one way or another they are going to take him back. The Agents offer Michaels protection and he decides that "... F.B.I. guys are on the level. When they say they'll protect him, they'll do it."

The FBI builds the case around Michaels' willingness to talk and as time goes by Michaels is trained and tutored in what to say, what to do and how to handle himself on the witness stand. Michaels names different members of the Stabile and Bastone mobs and goes along with the FBI plan. Michaels is also interested in the state attorney general's announcement that any one who came forward with information concerning the Denton robbery would be given immunity and a share of the reward. What Michaels did not realize is that the state attorney general who made this statement is not presently in office and the present incumbent is not obligated by any promises by his predecessors.

Meanwhile Kendall has approached Jimmy Preston with information on the robbery because the State Statute of Limitations has about run out and he is also interested in the reward money. Prior to this, Preston knows that Kendall was definitely in on the robbery, but he cannot get any information out of Kendall.

At the trial, Michaels appears as a completely different person on the witness stand. He is polished, intelligent a "... gentleman and unfortunately a criminal." The attorney for the defendants decides that if he cannot break Michaels' story, he will call Kendall to the stand. However, Morgan and Harvey--knowing that Kendall is out to collect part of the reward--go out to see Kendall's wife who has been living in poverty. Supplying her with plenty of money and clothes, they persuade her to show up at the courtroom in order that if Kendall should be called to the stand, she could "blast" him off the stand. By this time she has a deep hatred for her husband who has practically turned his back on her, and she is intent on destroying his testimony. It is decided to keep Kendall off the witness stand all together, and out of the original gang which staged the robbery, only 3 are brought

to trial with the Stabile and Bastone mob, and this is because they have belonged to many different gangs.

SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO FBI:

Although there are numerous references to the FBI throughout the book, it is noted that on pages 190 and 191, the following references appear:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation tries its best to cooperate with state, metropolitan, city and town police departments, but more often than not this cooperation is a one-way street; the F.B.I. does the cooperating and receives little of it in return. Detectives of all ranks are inclined to be jealous and envious of F.B.I. Agents. They are better-trained and educated. They are paid more money and they have expense accounts. The Bureau has been doing an excellent job in breaking down this prejudice by accepting patrolmen and police officers from cities and towns throughout the country for special training in the Academy of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington. It is an effective but slow process (about twelve hundred of them were then so trained and more have been added since), but it has hardly reached the case-hardened old-timers, veterans of the forces, usually executives by reason of seniority--the old dogs who cannot be taught new tricks. One of these would delight in tripping up an F.B.I. man to beat him to the arrest."

The author continues by saying that the FBI will not always confide in all local police officers, regarding an arrest, because it "...knows the character of policemen in some precincts and divisions. Crime reporters shudder at what might happen if they were so warned..."

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS:

To the reader who is familiar with the background of the Brinks case, this book is liable to raise some questions of doubt as to whether the Brinks case was really "solved;" i. e. did the FBI arrest the right men. As can be seen from the above, and from a reading of the book, Dinneen has presented the FBI as unknowingly going along with the local police department's theory that the gang that was framed was responsible for the robbery. Even when McGarrity goes to the local SAC, and tells him that Kendall is "... a faker, a phony, a chameleon. . .," and couldn't possibly be connected with the Denton Transfer robbery, the book states, "The agent in charge accepted McGarrity's judgment. Kendall was now at large, free and unmolested."

INFORMATION RE DINNEEN:

You will recall that Dinneen is also the author of "Anatomy of a Crime," which was a fictional take-off on the Brinks case and was alternately favorable, impartial and unfavorable to the Bureau. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Dinneen was bitter towards the Bureau for a period, but by letter dated 2-9-54, the SAC at Boston advised that he had paid a visit to the "Boston Globe," and while there, he was introduced to Dinneen. Dinneen advised that he wanted the Bureau to know that he held no malice towards the FBI [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

By letter dated 2-21-56, the Boston Office advised that Dinneen had spoken before a Church Communion Breakfast on 2-19-56. Reportedly, Dinneen devoted the last 15 minutes of his talk to the Brinks case, and praised the FBI in very glowing terms. He stated that he felt the FBI had caused the arrest of the appropriate persons in the Brinks case. It is noted during his talk Dinneen pointed out that in his opinion there was an "inside man" involved. Dinneen believed that such a robbery could not be perpetrated without such aid and guidance. Based on his current book, it appears that Dinneen still holds this belief. In reference to the letter from Boston dated 2-21-56 concerning Dinneen's speech, the Director noted "I want none of his praise! H." (62-100848)

12/8/69

BOOK REVIEW

BY CHARLES FAGER

SYNOPSIS:

Bureau files indicate that, although the identification is not positive because of the lack of information concerning [redacted]

His treatment of the Poor People's Campaign in this book is not favorable. He criticizes the organization and leadership, discusses the violence and internal dissension in the campaign and says the campaign failed both as a moral crusade and as entertainment. No mention of FBI.

ACTION:

For information.

157-8428

① - 62-46855 (Book Review File)

CEG:ekn (8)

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr.

1 - Mr.

1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin

1 - Mr. C. E. Glass

SEE DETAILS PAGE TWO

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan

RE: BOOK REVIEW

"UNCERTAIN RESURRECTION, THE POOR PEOPLE'S
WASHINGTON CAMPAIGN"

BY CHARLES FAGER

157-8428

DETAILS:

REVIEW OF BUREAU FILES:

b6
b7c

Our files indicate, based on the information in the
book, that

BOOK REVIEW:

This book is about the Poor People's Campaign (PPC), a massive demonstration of the SCLC in Washington, D. C., during the Spring of 1968, during which a shantytown called Resurrection City was built on the Mall near the Lincoln Memorial. Fager makes no attempt to defend the PPC. He mentioned in the book that Martin Luther King, Jr., was driven to the Left politically during the last two years of his life. He criticized the organization and the leadership of Resurrection City. He told how urban gang members "were from their arrival constantly getting out of hand, drinking, assaulting other residents and outsiders, harassing newsmen, taunting police and stealing everything that could be lifted." He said "confusion seemed to reign so completely over the campaign that the hostility and internal quarreling appeared as its most consistent characteristics." One chapter of the book dealt with the violence inside and outside Resurrection City and Fager said that the accounts of the violence were not exaggerated very much. On page 124 Fager said the campaign

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157-8428

failed both as a moral crusade and as entertainment. He was critical in the book, however, of the handling by police of a couple incidents around Resurrection City in which the police were forced to use tear gas and force to control unruly demonstrators.

MENTION OF THE FBI:

The Bureau is not mentioned in this book.